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## THE ADMINISTRATOR TO-DAY\*

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I am grateful to you for having invited me on your Annual Day. It is with some hesitation that I have accepted your invitation. Most of you have a good academic background of public administration, whereas my own knowledge is only limited to my association with the Government for the last five years. Moreover, even though a Minister is associated with the administrative machinery his knowledge of the inner working of the administration remains limited. The observations which I am making are therefore not in the nature of an expert advice.

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The administration which we inherited on the attainment of Independence was intended primarily to serve the needs of British imperialism. It had helped the British rulers to maintain their hold over the country for nearly a century. There has not been any radical change in the pattern of administration. The same machinery has been geared to fulfil democratic ends of a welfare State. This has naturally put the administration under great stress. Doubts are frequently raised by people about the adequacy and competence of the present machinery to discharge multifarious responsibilities and functions which the Welfare State has assumed. It is necessary therefore to clear this doubt so that confidence in the Government may be restored and people may give them their full co-operation. In the interest of both the Government and the people this is necessary since the success of Government as well as the well-being of citizens depends largely on the smooth and efficient working of the administrative machinery.

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\*Text of the address delivered on the Second Annual Day of the Indian School of Public Administration, New Delhi (July 15, 1960).

It must be said to the credit of our administrative services that they have adjusted remarkably well to the rapid and far-reaching political changes subsequent to the transfer of power. India is one of the few countries in Asia which has shown remarkable stability. After partition the country had to face many difficult problems and some grave crises both internal and external; it must be admitted that our Services have undoubtedly shown great ability in tackling these problems. The Second Five Year Plan has been nearly completed and we are about to launch the Third Plan. The country has made substantial progress in the economic field. For all these achievements the administrative services have their share of credit.

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There is, however, one direction in which the administrative services have still to orient themselves if they are to continue to be a source of strength to our new democracy. If the concept of the Welfare State is to be a reality, the administrative services should consider themselves as the guardians of public good. It is true that the civil servant has to detach himself to some extent from the conflicting views and opinions expressed by different individuals and groups in order to come to a rational decision but no public servant can discharge his duties effectively if he becomes insensitive to the needs of the people and fails to study the social problems from the point of view of the common man. While procedures, routine checks and counterchecks are important for arriving at right decisions, the civil servant has constantly to watch the effects of his actions upon the general public. No administrative system, however efficient, can survive if it loses sight of the human factor.

The Civil Service can retain its vitality only when every decision that is taken by it promotes the common good. The administrator is very often so much engrossed in routines and procedures that he is likely to forget that administration is a moral act and he is a moral agent. The decisions that are taken by the executive have beneficial or harmful effect on the lives of millions of people. These actions may create great opportunities for the flowering of human personality or may be instrumental in debasing the human character. As a true servant of the society, the administrator must always remember that every action of his has a moral implication. Respect for human personality is one of the fundamental tenets of democracy and any one who degrades human personality, or debases human values, sins against democracy. In discharging his duties a civil servant must be prepared to subordinate his private and lesser interests to the greater good of the community. If those who are responsible for running the



administration become selfish, parochial or partisan in their outlook and behaviour, the organisation begins to rot and decay. No administrative organisation can endure for a long time if nepotism and corruption begin to eat into its vitals. The endurance of a social organisation depends upon the moral fibre of its leaders. It is therefore of great importance that both the political leadership and the administrative agency give greater attention to the strengthening of the ethical foundations of our administration.

During recent months there has been a good deal of talk about corruption in the administration. For the very survival of our social organisation, it is of the utmost importance that those who have political control as well as those who are running the administration should ensure that our people get a clean administration. The entire administrative structure which is continuously expanding its tentacles will collapse unless corruption wherever it exists is completely rooted out.

Apart from corruption, there are some other factors such as lack of sincerity of purpose, fear of becoming unpopular, sheer inertia and lack of sufficient faith and enthusiasm, which have led to moral deterioration and loss of personal responsibility. It is not difficult for a person who has intimate knowledge of our administration to find examples of these traits in our administration. Do we not come across cases where the real motives behind certain actions are covered by elaborate rationalisation and very often in the name of the public good personal interests or interests of friends and relatives are promoted? People in the Government and outside come to know about such motives and practices and though they may not be able to speak against those who are in authority, these lapses lead to the general lowering of moral standards. Examples of people who are afraid to express their opinions freely, particularly when they know that they may not be liked by their superior officers, are not wanting. The discipline of the Service demands that all the members should carry out the orders of their superior officers and once a decision is taken by the higher authorities they should accept it as their own; but the officers will be failing in their duty if they do not express their views freely at the time of decision-making. Another factor which shakes the faith of the average man in the administration is the lack of persistent effort on the part of public servants to face difficult situations. Relentless struggle is necessary to conquer social evils and when the public servants give up the struggle on account of heavy odds, people lose faith in them and develop a feeling of despair and sopticism. It is better not to undertake a project than to leave it unfinished or to give up the attempt on account of difficulties.

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In order to overcome some of these defects in the administration, the most essential condition is to establish the closest co-operation and understanding between the Civil Service and political leadership. While the civil servant must execute faithfully and loyally the policies of the Government, his political superior should give him full scope to sift all the available data and to come to a free and independent judgement. It should be recognised by those who have political authority that 'the engines of administration must be lubricated with the oil of discretion' if a satisfactory performance is to be the goal. If there is a difference of opinion between the civil servant and his Minister, the judgement of the latter will ultimately prevail, but this should not deter the civil servant from exercising his judgement. The initial responsibility of taking decisions is that of the civil servant and he must realise that in the absence of an overruling political judgement his judgement will be final. If both the political leadership and the bureaucracy try to appreciate each other's point of view and evaluate the results of their policies and programmes and try to find out to what extent their actions benefit the individual citizen, there will be fewer occasions for conflict. Most of the difficulties in the relationship of the bureaucracy and the political leadership arise because the former is very often wrapped up in red tape and administrative procedures and the latter shows impatience and sometimes impulsiveness to achieve quick results. It has been suggested that these difficulties can be overcome by drawing detailed rules of procedure and defining their respective powers and functions more precisely. This may help to some extent but the real solution lies in developing a greater understanding and appreciation of each other's role.

The political authorities must realise that for the implementation of their policies, they need all the intelligence and mature experience of the administrators. Their resourcefulness and initiative therefore should be allowed to have a free play. While it is the duty of those who wield political authority to give general directives to the administrators, better results will be achieved if there is minimum of interference in the execution of policies.

On the part of the administrative services, it should be realised that they can serve best by placing all the relevant knowledge in as objective a manner as possible. Rationality and objectivity are essential requisites of the administrative machinery. As individuals, the administrators may have their own personal predilections and bias, but while examining a public issue they should approach it in a rational and objective manner. It would be impossible to exercise any control over the administration if each person acts according to his own whim and fancy. The civil servant must always be ready to



subordinate his personal choices, likes and dislikes to stark rationality. In the midst of raging controversies when people are swayed by passions the civil servant detaches himself from these and supplies an objective and impartial counsel to the policy-makers. Without this self-imposed discipline, it is impossible to maintain the unified and cohesive character of the administration.

It is the responsibility of leaders both at the political and the administrative level to ensure that people working in the administration are inspired by a common purpose and can initiate policies which will appeal to the common man. All those who are involved in implementing policies as well as those who are affected by such implementation must contribute their best creative effort for the realisation of those goals which the society has set before itself. In a democratic administration it is not enough to get the job done expeditiously and economically; we must also create such conditions under which all the people involved in the administrative hierarchy feel that they are participants in a common enterprise. It is only by developing such co-operative attitude that the creative energy of the people is released and nurtured and they become self-propelling and active participants, and not mere cogs in the administrative machinery. It is the task of a good leader to mobilize the people for the pursuit of those desirable objectives which have been accepted by the society. It is also his responsibility to ensure that all those who are associated with him get the satisfaction of contributing their labour in a creative effort.

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It may be appropriate here to say a few words with regard to the question of training in public administration. Practices vary from country to country and though there is no unanimity either with regard to the agency which should take upon itself the responsibility of training our future administrators, or the content of courses, or the time at which this training should be imparted, there is general agreement that some kind of training is essential. It may take the form of probationary service where the candidate is given some tutorial guidance by his supervisors or some form of in-service training or refresher courses. Though training is considered useful, it is also recognised that training cannot be a substitute for experience. In fact, training cannot be complete unless the apprentice himself has learnt to handle concrete situations. Lectures at the Indian School of Public Administration will certainly be useful in so far as they give the trainees the necessary background but the best initial learning can come only from personal experience. Practical experience is, therefore, given the highest importance in administration. In times of

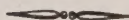
grave crisis, senior administrators who have successfully faced many stormy weathers in the past can be of immense help to the political authorities. It is for this reason that the continuity of service and stability of employment are assured to civil servants. On the part of the civil servants also they should not consider the service merely as a means of livelihood but as an opportunity for service.

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In the end, I would like to congratulate the Director and his staff for a year of successful work at the School. Much progress has been made and a great deal more remains to be done. I have no doubt that the Indian School of Public Administration will in course of time play a significant role in providing opportunities for research and training in a field of great importance.



“Government is a human institution.....It is human throughout; it rests not only on formal arrangements, skill and numbers, but even more on attitudes, enthusiasms, and loyalty. It is certainly not a machine, which can be taken apart, redesigned, and put together again on the basis of mechanical laws. It is more akin to a living organism. The organization of government is not a mechanical task. It is a human task and must be approached as a problem of morale and personnel fully as much as a task of logic and management.”

—PRESIDENT’S COMMITTEE ON  
ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGEMENT,  
*U.S. Government, 1937.*



## THE USE OF MODELS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE ANALYSIS : CONFUSION OR CLARITY ?

*Fred W. Riggs*

A distinguished authority on methodology in the social sciences has written : "We are using models, willingly or not, whenever we are trying to think systematically about anything at all."<sup>1</sup> As used here a model refers to any "structure of symbols and operating rules" which we think has a counterpart in the real world. A circle, for example, may be used as a model to characterize the shape of a bowl or a crown. Governments are often described in terms of a model of the family, the ruler being likened to a father, the people to children. In one sense a model is simply an elaborated simile or paradigm.

If the model is well chosen, it helps us to understand the phenomena to which it is applied; if poorly chosen, it leads to misunderstanding. Hence the degree to which our studies of public administration can lead to confusion or clarity may depend, in large measure, upon the appropriateness of the models which we employ.

Some of the readers will surely protest that it is better to go directly to the subject matter concerned without reference to any model—especially if there is danger that the models chosen may be inappropriate and lead to confusion. The answer is that we have no other way of thinking about unfamiliar things except in terms of models. Suppose, for example, that you try to describe the circular shape of a bowl without using the concept of a circle ! When astronomers first began to think of the earth as going around the sun, they had to think of its path as describing some pattern, and the circle seemed the most natural pattern to imagine. Later on more exact measurements led Kepler to see that the pattern could be better characterized as an ellipse. There was no getting away from models, but it was possible to substitute a model which corresponded more closely to reality for one which corresponded less closely.

In this sense a model is never true or false. Obviously a circle which does not exactly describe the path of the earth around the sun may quite accurately characterize the shape of the earth around its Equatorial mid-section. Similarly we shall not find administrative models to be inherently valid or invalid, but we may expect that a model

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1. Karl W. Deutsch, "On Communications Models in the Social Sciences," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 16 (Fall 1952), p. 356.

which throws light on administrative realities in one setting may simply obscure the facts in another situation.

#### AN INDIAN EXAMPLE

This proposition may be well illustrated from recent Indian history. While I do not claim to be in any sense an "expert" on Indian matters, I have read discussions of the question whether land revenues in India should be classified as "rent" or "taxes". A controversy over this question was waged for many years by the British administration. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Sir Henry Maine showed, rather convincingly, why the question could not be answered. A more recent discussion of this problem by an American scholar, Walter C. Neale,<sup>2</sup> clearly reveals the fallacy in the question.

The dichotomy between taxes and rent assumes the existence of a market system. Only when land is regarded as a commodity subject to sale in a market, does the concept of economic rent become quantifiable. Rents can be determined by the income brought through the sale of produce and by the price brought in land sales. Although taxes may be collected in kind where no market system prevails, nevertheless tax assessments, as imagined by the British rulers, could only be calculated in terms of an assumed value of income from the land.

The traditional system of land revenues in India, according to Neale, could be called "reciprocativ" and "redistributive", as suggested in his title. Under this system every occupational group, the barber, washerman, carpenter, etc., performed his traditional duties for other members of the village without direct compensation. The cultivator, for his part, at harvest time, would distribute shares from his crop to the various groups in the village, as well as to the Raja, who, in turn, would distribute to officials in his court, and to his own overlord. Hence a highly complex system of specialization and mutual assistance had developed without reliance on markets, price mechanisms, supply and demand forces, etc.

If the picture drawn by Neale is accurate, then the answer to the question whether land revenues were properly speaking rents or taxes was, "Neither", since they were something else. But because the model in the administrators' mind was that "All land revenue must be either rent or tax", it was inconceivable that the true situation could be "neither".

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2. "Reciprocity and Redistribution in the Indian Village," in Polanyi, Arensberg and Pearson, *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1957), pp. 218-235.



Had they grasped this point, they would no doubt have inquired whether they could continue to rule through a redistributive system, or whether, in their developmental and trade interests, the economy ought to be marketized. If the latter alternative were chosen, then the discussion would have turned to the best means of transforming the structure of Indian society and economy. In fact, of course, the society was subjected to fundamental transforming pressures, but many of these results came inadvertently as a result of new market and legal forces introduced without a full understanding of their implications for Indian traditional society.

## II

### CONVENTIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE MODELS

In the same way we cannot speak of public administration without having in mind certain models or *a priori* conceptions of how an administrative system works, just as we have ideas about how a market system works, how prices are adjusted to equalize supply and demand. In the case of administration, this basic model assumes the existence of a structurally distinct Government subject to control by a political organization, such as political parties, parliaments, public opinion, popular suffrage, interest groups, etc. This political organization, established according to a formula called the "Constitution", lays down a set of goals and policies known as "Laws" and "Regulations".

Under the control of this organization there is an administrative apparatus or Bureaucracy charged with the tasks of implementing the laws. The Bureaucracy is supposed to be politically "neutral", *i.e.*, it does not participate in policy determination, it has no specific interests of its own, it does not exercise any important power. It is, in other words, the obedient servant of the Government, and hence of the public whom Government serves.

The chief questions in public administration arise under this set of assumptions. If the laws are to be carried out and if, at the same time, the resources in public funds, skilled personnel, buildings and equipment, etc., are limited, then what is the most "efficient" way in which these scarce means can be mobilized to achieve the desired goals to the maximum extent?

When phrased this way, it will be seen that the basic model of public administration is analogous to the market model. In both instances the resources to be disposed of are considered as scarce, the goals to be accomplished as given—*i.e.*, to maximize profits or to implement policies—and hence the objective to be the "rational" allocation of human and material means. Both administration and

economics, in other words, assume a situation in which choices can and must be made because of insufficient means.

Karl Polanyi, in the book referred to above,<sup>3</sup> distinguishes between "formal" and "substantive" economics in the sense that the former deals with the assumed market model just described, whereas the latter refers to any ways in which human beings interact with their natural and social environment so as to satisfy their material wants. From this viewpoint, substantive economics may include situations of insufficiency in which no choice can be made, and choices being made where no insufficiency exists. In other words, there may be no market for exchanges, but people may nevertheless find ways to satisfy their material needs, quite unconscious of the fact that in so doing they are behaving economically.

Similarly, we may have administrative behaviour without, in any sense, having the rational administrative model set forth above. Let us assume that there is no political organization to formulate policies. Suppose the existence of a king who may be regarded as a divinity with religious functions, a judge to make choices in individual cases, a war-leader, etc., but not a "policy maker". Under these conditions, a set of officials may exist each of whom repeats, on a smaller scale, the same kind of activities as the king—judging cases, mobilizing war bands, and symbolizing divine harmonies. No policies are made or implemented. No administrative apparatus exists independently of a political machine. Yet one could not say that there is no "government". Somehow, public order is maintained, minimal public services are provided, the people have a sense that they live in a social order, not a chaos. Surely here some kind of "administrative" process is at work, but not in the formal sense described above.

#### SUBSTANTIVE VS. FORMAL ADMINISTRATIVE MODEL

May we not apply to administration the same distinction that Polanyi applies to economics, namely, the difference between "formal" and "substantive" administration? Just as formal economics assumes a price-making market, so formal administration assumes a policy implementing "bureau". The bureaucrat is to the formal administrative bureau as the entrepreneur is to the formal economic market.

But substantive administration can take place without a bureau, just as substantive economics need not presuppose a market. Without policies and bureaucrats, nevertheless the work of government can be done. No doubt traditional government cannot build railways, operate airlines, maintain agricultural experiment stations and public

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 246.



hospitals, but neither does traditional economics provide automobiles, radio stations, sewing machines, and mass-produced textiles. Human survival is quite possible without these things, but it is not possible without substantive administration and economics, *i.e.*, the provision of minimal social order, food and shelter, etc.

The purpose of this argument is not, of course, to discredit the study of formal administration, any more than one would wish to abandon the study of formal economics. Indeed, the existence of modern, highly industrialized and productive societies, may be possible only on the condition that bureaucratic and market systems of the type indicated be established. It is one thing to talk about the creation of such systems, and how they might work, and quite a different thing to assume that they do exist in actual societies, and act as though that existence had been proved. But that precisely was the British experience in setting up a revenue scheme as though Indian traditional economy were already marketized.

The object of my remarks is merely to indicate that where the "model bureau" does not exist, it is futile to ask questions about what does exist as though it were a "model bureau". The first task is, obviously, not to make this assumption but to ask, "What does in fact exist?". One may discover, of course, that what exists is not at all a bad thing. I am sure many Indians think the traditional redistributive system superior to a market system, that many prefer handloomed *khaddar* to factory manufactured textiles, not because the material product is superior but because the traditional way of life is more gracious, humane, or orderly than the hurly-burly of factory and the higgling-haggling of market. Similarly one may discover to his surprise that the traditional way of substantive administration has much to recommend it, even though it does not contain a policy-implementing bureau.

At least one English administrator and scholar came to admire the traditional administrative system and prefer it to the modern bureau. Explaining the old Fijian system which he had personally observed, he observed that the people's "offering to the chief is even better than a charity bazaar; it combines a trip to town with glimpses of royalty, a display of food and manufactured articles, dances, a hearty meal, flirtations. Added to all this is the expression of loyalty to the father of the people, the hero-worship."<sup>4</sup> From the offerings received, of course, the king not only maintained a sumptuous establishment in which everyone could take pride, but also distributed gifts and rewards to those who needed help or who served him.

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4. A. M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors*. Luzac, London, 1936, p. 203.

Under foreign rule, however, the traditional system of tribute offerings to the king had been replaced by the idea of tax payments to Government to finance public services. The result, according to Hocart, was to dampen the enthusiasm which had formerly sustained the people in their efforts. "They were left without an aim in life beyond eating and drinking; they reduced their output of work to fit the contracted aim; fields, ships, houses, everything dwindled with the dwindling pomp." In India, too, there are surely some who look on the durbar as a glorious focus of social and religious as well as political life.

The crucial question at issue today, however, is not the traditional *vs.* the bureaucratized way of government. In the modern world, we have to find ways to survive and to protect our most precious values. To do that, it is no longer possible to rely on traditional economic and administrative methods. But neither can we assume the existence of the model market and bureau, however much we might regard it as necessary or desirable. We must first find out what kind of administrative system we actually have. Polanyi and Neale found that the traditional economic system could best be described as reciprocative and redistributive. Can we find words to identify the kind of administrative system we now have in reality? I think we can, but to do so we shall have to resort to some new words and concepts which cannot be found in the conventional literature on public administration.

#### PREScriptive VS. DESCRIPTIVE MODELS

Before making a few suggestions along this line, let me point out one other characteristic of the conventional model of public administration. Just as formal economics presupposes a rationalizing market goal, so formal administrative theory presupposes "efficiency" in policy implementation as a normative goal. In other words, administrative theory is not only asked to tell us what now exists, or has existed, but also what should exist. Indeed, the emphasis in much administrative literature is rather more on the prescriptive than on the descriptive side. The so-called "principles" of public administration take the following form: "Authority should be commensurate with responsibility"; "Staff functions should be clearly separated from line functions"; "The span of control should be..."; "Communications should flow upwards as well as downwards"; "Equal pay for equal work"; etc.

Again, I have no intention of questioning the usefulness of such maxims. I wish only to point out that prescriptions which are valid in one context may be harmful in another. Where penicillin may cure



one patient it may kill another. As the old proverb says, "One man's meat is another man's poison." Hence the first question we should always ask ourselves when confronted with one of these maxims is not, "Is it true?" but rather, "Does it apply to this case?"

Now, I strongly believe that we cannot answer the question of applicability unless we know a good deal about "this case". In other words, we need a pretty complete descriptive and analytical understanding of what now exists before we can make very useful judgments about what we ought to do, what changes should be made. The model of administrative behaviour, as of economic, was inspired by some understanding of Western societies in which markets and bureaus existed and corresponded, at least approximately, to the image conveyed by the model. We are not to assume, however, that the position in India can be properly described in these terms, although it may sometimes be tempting to do so.

The temptation to accept these models uncritically arises in part, at least, from the lack of alternative models—the British administrators who puzzled over the land revenue question would surely have taken a different view if it occurred to them that there was an alternative to the rent-tax dichotomy. When the redistributive model is offered, the possibility of this alternative immediately becomes apparent.

Similarly, the possibility of describing administrative reality in terms other than the formal administrative bureau and the efficiency criteria arises only when alternative models become available.

#### ALTERNATIVE MODELS?

The position today differs from that of the nineteenth century in two important respects. On the one hand, we have developed rather more sophisticated theories, and so it should be easier to find alternative models than it was a century ago. On the other hand, the need for alternative models is not so apparent. Whereas a century ago, the contrast between the traditional Indian economy and the market system was sharp, today the market has widely pervaded Indian society, and the market mode of analysis is relatively far more applicable. Similarly, the establishment of the Indian Civil Service and the many other Indian services has created something quite similar to the model of the administrative bureau. Why, then, is there any need to consider alternative administrative models in the study of Indian government?

The answer, I think, lies in the fact that the new market and administrative systems have *displaced* but not *replaced* the traditional

systems. In other words, even though the market has invaded the village, I doubt that it has fully eliminated the old redistributive system. At least recent village studies by some anthropologists tend to show that the old system retains a firm grip. Similarly, if the administrative bureau model holds at the level of the I.A.S., does it also hold at the level of the village panchayat?

### III

#### HETEROGENEITY

Would it be justified to reach the conclusion that the existing situation is a mixed one, partially resembling the administrative bureau but partly resembling also the traditional chief? The mixture can take place on several dimensions : first the urban-rural dimension stretching from Bombay-New Delhi-Calcutta to the remote hill tribes, with "village India" lying stretched out in between; second the class and community dimension stretching from the university graduate and administrative officer to the illiterate and the mystic. Let us call such a broad mixture of attitudes, practices and situations "heterogeneous". To the extent that heterogeneity prevails, a model which characterizes only one element in the mix, however important that element, cannot be regarded as an adequate model for the whole.

May we assume that Indian substantive administration is quite heterogeneous, and hence draw the conclusion that, however applicable, the formal model may be to part of the Indian governmental scene, it cannot comprehend the total scene? By the same reasoning, of course, the model of traditional India—whether in its economic or administrative aspects—cannot be taken as a reliable guide to modern Indian conditions, however much the traditional systems may survive in segments of Indian society.

#### OVERLAPPING

Another aspect of the conventional administrative model may be worth noting. In some ways this model is like a clock. Whatever the size or shape of a clock, it has a single function to perform, namely, to signalize the passage of the hours and minutes with precision. If a clock stops, or runs too slowly or too fast, we can consider the mechanism defective. It may need to be wound, to have a spring repaired, to have the timing mechanism adjusted, etc.

In the same way the administrative bureau is considered to have a single function, to implement laws. If the laws are poorly enforced, if corruption creeps in, if the public is abused, etc. we examine the "pathology" as we would of a defective clock. The apparatus needs to be "set right".



Just as we employ a clock repair man to fix the clock, we hunt for an administrative specialist to tell us what needs to be done to make the administrative apparatus work right. It may be the examinations for recruitment to the service should be improved. Perhaps the system of budgeting needs revamping, a position classification scheme might be installed, salaries readjusted, public relations officers set up, better book-keeping or filing equipment acquired, communications bottlenecks eliminated, etc.

To some extent this model is justified in the industrialized countries where the model was developed. In so far as the political demand for services is well organized and policies are clear-cut, and positions outside Government are more remunerative and prestigious than posts inside, it is possible to recruit for specialized positions at various levels of the public service through technical examinations. One can treat problems of recruitment and promotion as largely autonomous, as technical and managerial, as questions which can and should be resolved solely by administrative criteria.

Where these conditions do not exist, however, other questions must be brought into view. If opportunities for employment outside the bureaucracy are limited, terrific pressure for public posts may arise. Powerful family influences may be brought to bear. The number of posts may exceed the capacity of the public budget to pay adequate salaries to all. The incumbents may become powerful enough to influence policy formation as much as the politicians to whom they are nominally responsible. A change in one aspect of such a system has unpredictable consequences in other parts.

To revert to the clock model, let us suppose the existence of strong electric vibrations between the clock, the radio, and the refrigerator in a room. The clock, having begun to lose time, I call in a repair man who sets it right. I then discover that the change in the clock has affected the radio. When the radio is adjusted, it has a bad effect on the refrigerator, which no longer keeps food cold enough. When the refrigerator is fixed, I discover that this has now caused the clock to gain. Every subsequent manipulation of one apparatus seems to disorganize another.

If this seems far-fetched, it helps to explain why the clock model misleads us as a way of thinking about the administrative system. Even in the most developed countries, the administrative system is not as self-contained or autonomous an "apparatus" as a clock. In traditional agricultural societies it is virtually impossible to detach administration as a "system" from other aspects of the society. It

is only possible to view administration as an "aspect", although an important one.

In societies which are in course of industrialization and modernization, where a heterogeneous mixture of the new and the old exist side by side, one sometimes has the impression that administration can be viewed as having a clock-like separateness, but this impression is surely misleading. Indeed, one of the characteristics which we might add to our model of a country in process of modernization is "overlapping". By this I mean that the new formal apparatus, like the administrative bureau, gives an illusory impression of autonomousness, whereas in fact it is deeply enmeshed in, and cross-influenced by, remnants of older traditional social, economic, religious, and political systems. Hence tinkering with administrative regulations and establishments is bound to affect these non-administrative systems, and reciprocally, economic and social changes will also affect the administrative system. Any attempt to understand public administration under such circumstances must, therefore, be based on a study of the overlapping interrelationships as well as the internal mechanism of the administrative structure viewed as something apart.

#### FORMALISM

This phenomenon of overlapping is related to another element which I would also add to our model. If you set out to go to a strange house, you may try to follow a city map which tells you what streets to take. But if the map is poorly drawn, you find the streets you have chosen lead you to unexpected places, while the house you seek cannot be found. Such a map is misleading because the shape or direction of the real streets does not correspond to the form of those shown on the map. Hence we may call such a map "formalistic". Its forms do not represent reality.

Similarly, a time-table for trains which is formalistic might mislead you into taking the wrong train, or missing your connection. A law which is formalistic sets forth a policy or goal which is not, administratively, put into practice. Social behaviour does not conform to the prescribed norm. Thus legalistic administration is a particular kind of formalistic system. If you find an organization chart which purports to describe the structure of a government department, with elaborate statements of the duties of each unit and post in the department, you will hold this chart formalistic if you find the real people and units in the department doing different things from those mentioned in the chart.

When a high degree of overlapping in administrative organization occurs, considerable formalism is also to be expected. Legislators may



adopt a particular law, for example, only to find it cannot be enforced by the administrators. To insist on enforcement may set in motion secondary effects which are contrary to the declared intent of other laws. A legislative change in inheritance, marriage rights, or contract obligations, for example, may disturb, if enforced, prospects for maintaining the peace, implementing the economic development plan, or gaining support for community development.

Again, because of heterogeneity, changes which may work quite satisfactorily in the cities might prove disruptive in the villages, reforms that are welcomed in the North might be strongly opposed in the South, a reorganization acceptable to one part of the public service might prove unacceptable to another part.

Formalism adversely affects our ability to deal with administrative reality by means of the clock image, just as overlapping does. In the United States it is now the general practice in much of the country for everyone to set his clock ahead one hour each Spring. We call this "daylight saving time". Some farmers make fun of the practice, saying we cannot increase the number of hours of daylight by changing the clock. Of course, the intention is merely to induce habit-bound city dwellers, who always rise at 7.30 and go to the office at 9.00, to start the day an hour earlier, during the summer. It is easier to do this by manipulating the clock than by inducing everyone to start work at 8.00.

We can imagine the fate of an individual who, upon over-sleeping, decides merely to set his clock forward an hour and then go to work on his own new "double-daylight saving time". He claims to arrive at the office at "9.00" by *his* clock, but his supervisor will nevertheless reduce his wage for coming an hour late. Such a manoeuvre would be called formalistic, because it would set up an appearance contrary to reality. Reality, in this case, is obviously determined, not by the position of the sun, but by simultaneous position of everyone's clock, which has become an instrument for synchronization rather than for determining astronomical position.

Now this example may help us to understand the dilemma of the administrative reformer. Suppose he tries to set the administrative apparatus right, but discovers later that he has merely re-arranged the organization chart without affecting the behaviour of people in the department. The more formalistic an administrative situation to start with, the less effect on behaviour a change in the prescribed norms will have. By contrast, if a system is highly realistic, this realism can be achieved only by continuous attention to maintenance of the correspondence: officials strive to achieve fully the set policy and goals,

and the policy-makers try to limit their decisions to objectives for which the necessary resources are available and sufficient support already exists. Consequently a change in the system is generally followed by corresponding changes in behaviour again because people are accustomed to following the prescribed rules, and the policy-makers do not set up impracticable rules.

These two conditions do not prevail when a legal or administrative system has become formalistic. The people subject to regulation have become indifferent to the prevalence of non-conformity with policy, and the policy-makers, exasperated with an intractable situation, hope to set it right by drawing up more rules and passing more laws, which remain as formalistic as their predecessors.

An example of formalistic reform may help to clarify this point. Suppose we find a chaotic filing system in a central government bureau. We decide that what is needed is new equipment, an improved classification scheme, trained file clerks, and revised regulations. After these changes have been made, we discover that little improvement results, although our model leads us to think that these reforms would put things right.

We push the matter further and discover that the reports which are filed are badly out of date, compiled in response to an antiquated questionnaire, and completed by unqualified clerks who provide inaccurate information. Consequently, the higher officials find them useless and don't bother to read them. Since the offices which prepare the reports know they won't be read, they see no need to invest effort in improving the design of the questionnaire or providing better replies to the old ones.

This situation, of course, means that there is little or no demand for reports from the filing section, and, therefore, no incentive for the clerks to keep the reports in good order. Moreover, since the higher officials do not read the reports, they cannot set up criteria for throwing away unneeded materials, and hence the clerks dare not discard anything, since they are personally liable for losses. The files, then, become the repository of vast accumulations of unused reports, a situation which can scarcely be corrected by new filing procedures and equipment.

The existence of such a situation must seem paradoxical because, surely, the central office must want to learn what its subordinate units are doing. We next learn that significant communication largely takes place through oral interviews rather than through the mountainous accumulation of paper. The reasons and consequences of this would take us far afield into the nature of the personal relationships



between these officials, the content of their communications, etc. It may be found that what they have to say to each other could not be put on paper because it concerns office "politics", loyalty and disloyalty to cliques, the disposition of extra-legal perquisites, etc. Perhaps, also, the policies to be implemented by the bureau are not clearly defined so that significant questions designed to obtain data relevant to administration could not, with the best will in the world, be properly framed.

The example chosen is perhaps extreme, and may never occur in India, but it should illustrate the dilemma of the administrative technician—the records management specialist, let us say—when called upon to correct the evils of a chaotic filing system in a formalistic bureau. The most modern and scientific procedures and equipment will scarcely remedy the situation.

In societies where formal economic and administrative models provide relatively accurate images of reality, it is practical to study the models, including, on the administrative side, laws and regulations, since these provide good evidence of practice, and changes in them are followed by corresponding changes in practice.

But where the formal models are far from reality, such study of legal and administrative models becomes increasingly "legalistic", *i.e.*, it provides a less and less accurate picture of reality and an increasingly ineffective technique for changing it. Unfortunately, the more formalistic a system, the greater the pressures which induce scholars to limit themselves to "legalistic" studies. It is easier to study books or maps which purport to describe the world in simplified terms than to look directly at the highly confusing and heterogeneous facts themselves. Secondly, it is easier to test for knowledge of the formally prescribed than for understanding of the more complex existentially real. Thirdly, what people really do is often unpleasant, embarrassing, and even dangerous to know, and hence carefully concealed, whereas what is prescribed is usually what people in authority approve and everyone is urged to learn.

From these considerations we can see that the problem which can perplex an administrative reformer is not only his inability to see the facts of a situation to understand what ought, technically, be done to remedy it, but also his inability to figure out a way to make any real impact on the situation. As in the fairy tale, he may elaborately create a suit of clothes for the emperor which leave him as naked as before—and everyone joins the conspiracy of illusion to declare how resplendently the emperor is now dressed.

### THE PRISMATIC MODEL

To return now to our initial problem : what kind of models can we offer to place alongside the conventional formal model of public administration. I think we can well use two such models, first, one for traditional societies in which administrative processes do not have any separate structure of their own, but constitute part of general, undifferentiated social structures. The second is a model for transitional situations between such an undifferentiated society and one in which the formal administrative bureau makes its appearance. As we have seen, this transitional model might be characterized by considerable heterogeneity, overlapping, and formalism.

We need some more precise terminology for these different models, and cannot find any familiar terms that exactly suit our purpose. Consequently I take the liberty of appropriating some words from the physical language of light. We know that all the colours are fused together in white light. If we imagine one of the colours—say red—to symbolize the administrative process, then fused light contains red but not in any separate, recognizable form. Consequently I will call the traditional model “fused”, thereby implying that it contains an administrative process, but not in a distinguishable form. There is substantive but no formal administration.

When light has been refracted, however, red appears clearly marked at one end of the spectrum. The formal administrative bureau, then, appears in a fused model, as does the formal economic market. The model, of course, is not real, any more than a “circle”, say, is a real thing, but it may be used to help us describe and think about real things, just as we can use a circle to depict the shape of the sun or a clock’s face.

When light is changing from fused to refracted it passes through a prism, and hence we might call an intermediate model between the fused and refracted, “prismatic”. We can summarize what has been said above by remarking that the prismatic model is characterized by considerable heterogeneity and formalism, whereas both the fused and refracted may be quite homogeneous and realistic. As to differentiated structures, these appear as separate and relatively autonomous entities in the refracted model, completely undifferentiated in the fused, but overlapping in the prismatic.

### CLASSIFICATION OF REAL SITUATIONS

Now, it should be obvious that these models give us tools for analysis, but do not purport to describe any particular situation. Certainly even the United States or England, which are quite developed



politically and economically, do not have administrative and economic structures—bureaux and markets—exactly like those portrayed in the formal refracted model. Nor do we need to imagine that any traditional folk society ever had the complete non-differentiation of economic and administrative structures described in our fused model, and certainly different traditional societies vary a great deal in the degree to which they could be described by this model. In the same way, the circle may give us an approximate image of the path of the earth around the sun, but an ellipse gives us a better image. A model helps us to describe, but it must not be hypostatized into something that we imagine has an independent reality of its own.

As to the use of the prismatic model, here the greatest amount of variation in real life is to be expected. No society can be expected to fit the prismatic model exactly. It may help us to think of the fused to refracted models as positions on a scale as follows :

<i>fused</i>	<i>prismatic</i>	<i>refracted</i>
1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	9
10	11	12
13	14	15
16	17	18
19	20	21

These terms now appear merely as convenient ways of blocking off large sectors on the scale. We could divide the scale into as many sub-categories as we wished. For example, we might want to talk about a position from 7 to 10, as "semi-prismatic", and a position from 15 to 17 as "semi-refracted".

As we refined our techniques, we might eventually be able to classify individual countries at different positions on such a scale. Undoubtedly if we take Thailand, the Philippines, Egypt, Japan, Spain, Brazil, Yugoslavia, etc.—and we might place India somewhere also on this scale—we would imagine a central tendency for each country falling at a unique place on the scale. I make no attempt here to indicate where on this scale India, or the United States, for that matter, might be placed.

It is important to remember that heterogeneity is one of the salient characteristics of the prismatic model. Thus, within the same society we expect to find a wide diversity of sub-types. If the average tendencies for India as a whole were to be placed at some intermediate point on this scale, the tendencies of some parts of India, Bombay or New Delhi, for example, would surely be placed much nearer the refracted pole, and parts of Assam would surely fall nearer the fused pole.

Their consideration leads us to another advantage of this way of thinking. We need not imagine that a great, complex country and society like India can be neatly pigeon-holed in terms of an index number. Taking India as a universe for study, you might try to

classify the various states, regions, or localities in terms of such a scale, and I would expect considerable variety in the scores assigned to different units.

Even the most refracted countries contain great differences between their internal zones. No doubt greater homogeneity exists within America than within India, but great diversity is still apparent as one travels from Boston or Minnesota in the North to Atlanta or Montgomery in the South. The probate judge in some southern counties still plays a politico-administrative role reminiscent of that of a traditional monarch.

#### DIRECTION OF CHANGE?

This framework of analysis is not intended to imply any kind of teleological determinacy. If any society can be classified in terms of its position on the fused-refracted scale, this need not suggest that it is bound to move from one position to another. It may happen, of course, that a society does in fact change, over a period of years, from one position to another, but this is determined by concrete historical forces which are not given by the foregoing analysis.

I do believe that in the presence of the industrially developed countries of the world, it is becoming increasingly difficult for traditional societies to retain their ancestral forms of social organization. The universal desire to avoid sickness and the availability of new public health techniques, to cite but a single example, will surely lead to rapid population growth that must cause declining living standards unless productivity is increased. The reader will think of other changes, the impact of scientific technology, the spread of literacy and mass communications, etc., which stimulate increasing refraction in most contemporary societies.

All of these forces, while influencing the degree of refraction, cannot be predicted from the models we have set forth. But given a knowledge of these forces, we may be able to judge whether a given country will, at any particular time, tend to become more or less refracted, or remain stable and unchanging in social and governmental structure for a period of time.

#### WHAT KIND OF CHANGE?

A second caution is related to the first. If the scale of refraction gives no prediction by itself of direction of change, it also by no means exhausts all the important variables that ought to be brought into any full social and governmental analysis. For example, the degree to which power is centralized or de-centralized is one of the crucial political variables. This variable is of great importance to the individual



since it affects the relative freedom and security of his life. It is a variable which, so far as I can see, operates independently of degree of refraction. Thus a fused model could be centralized or de-centralized; and so could a refracted. Obvious counterparts in real life suggest themselves. Traditional societies vary between the centralization of military and bureaucratized empires, and the de-centralization of feudal and tribal societies. India, as I understand its history, has oscillated between the centralization of Maurya, Harsha, Mughul and British rulers, on the one hand, and intervening periods of political fragmentation, on the other.

The balance between centralizing and de-centralizing forces remains an important variable in modern industrial societies, as we shift our attention from authoritarian and totalitarian states to liberal and democratic ones. It might be observed, however, that for a refracted society the crucial variable may be not so much degree of centralization in a territorial or geographical sense, as degree of concentration of control over diverse, specialized functions. The most significant difference between totalitarian and liberal regimes is not, therefore, the variation in degree of territorial centralization but rather the difference between the relatively concentrated pattern of totalitarian organization, and the dispersed pattern of liberal organization.

It should be clear, however, that the administrative model of the government bureau applies to any refracted society, whether totalitarian or democratic. In the former case policy may be formulated by a single party or its central committee, but the bureaucrat is called upon to translate policy into behaviour in the dictatorial as in the democratic regime. The same may not be said of the formal economic model, since the market clearly plays a more important role in the liberal system than in the totalitarian. There the redistributive model might be employed more fruitfully to characterize a system of state enterprise and distribution, with the market playing a more restricted part.

There is no need here to discuss other independent variables which need not be correlated with degree of refraction, but I wish merely to make clear that, while the conventional administrative model can be readily used only in a refracted society, I do not wish thereby to imply that every refracted society would be an exact replica of every other. Consider only one other illustration—religion. Max Weber has expounded a famous thesis relating the rise of European capitalism—and therefore of industrialism—to the Protestant Reformation. This may be quite true historically, and yet it is apparent that Catholic, and also non-Christian societies, can industrialize, the example of Japan providing a striking proof. This is a good reason for using a

term like "refraction" in preference to a more common expression, like "Westernization", or even modernization.

For some, Westernization may include, for example, Christianization, whereas refraction clearly need not involve any particular change of religion, although it may imply a change in the role of religion in society as it becomes one among a set of differentiated structures rather than an intrinsic component of a fused whole. If India, for example, were to carry out a thoroughgoing refraction, one might anticipate the development of Hindu denominations and churches paralleling Protestant forms of organization, but no general shift from Hindu to Christian symbols and beliefs.

For some people modernization may also suggest adoption of American jazz, chewing bubble gum, or playing with hoola-hoops. Such matters may be transmitted more easily by means of modern communications, but they have nothing to do with the essence of refraction and the relevance of the formal administrative bureau. Similarly it matters not whether, in setting up a system for records management in government offices, one borrows a British, American, German or Japanese code, or invents one for home use. No doubt it will be more convenient to standardize on a single code than to use a mixture. Any refracted administrative system will find it necessary to employ elaborate codes, filing and communications systems, but will not have to use any particular code or filing system.

We return then, to the proposition with which this essay began, namely that we cannot see nor deal with any situation except in terms of models, and hence, in the study of public administration, it behoves us to find or develop the most appropriate models for use in the particular situation in which we find ourselves<sup>5</sup>.

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5. The reader who wishes to pursue this subject further may find a preliminary statement of the differences between fused and refracted societies and administration in the author's "Agraria and Industria," in William Siffin, ed., *Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration*. (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana, U.S.A., 1957). More recent articles by the author which develop the prismatic model are "Prismatic Society and Financial Administration" *Administration Science Quarterly*, June 1960; "A Model for the Study of Philippine Social Structure" in the *Philippine Sociological Review*, and two articles in the January and April 1959 issues of the *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*.



## UNITARY TRENDS IN A FEDERAL SYSTEM

*P. R. Dubhashi*

**T**REATISES on Political Science might deal with the theories of division of functions between the federating units and the Union Government and the constitutional documents might enumerate the functions assigned to each but in actual fact, it is the working of any constitution that would determine the degree of influence of the Union Government vis-a-vis the Governments of federating units on the practices and processes of public administration as they impinge upon the body of citizens. The Indian Constitution has now been working over a decade and it will be a useful contribution to the study of public administration in India to find out how far the division of functions as envisaged in the Constitution has in practice demarcated the spheres of activities of the Union and State administrations and how far these spheres have actually overlapped with probably an increasingly important part played by the Union Government even in matters falling within the purview of the State Governments. Federalism being the concomitant of "a desire for union but not for unity" makes adequate accommodation for regional dispersal and diversities of administration. But other Centralist forces arising out of the conditions of the modern world tend to counteract the federal tendency towards decentralisation. "In the olden days when the transport was slow and economic life functioned in narrow sphere, defence was the only large function of Federal Governments; but today economic life is functioning on a world scale and each country has to maintain a unified and co-ordinated economic policy. This is true of federations as of unitary States, and is illustrated by the experience of the United States, Canada, Australia and other federations. In those countries in spite of jealous safeguarding of 'states' rights', federal aid and direction have increased in recent times and are likely to continue to increase in future"... "Education, public health, agriculture and industries are primarily provincial subjects, but, if these important nation-building agencies are to produce the greatest possible benefits in service to the public, suitable policies must be formulated in many respects on a more or less all-India basis."<sup>1</sup>

Similar views have been even more emphatically stated by another distinguished thinker on Indian Federation : "The master-plan of economic development must be countrywide. In particular respects,

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1. P.J. Thomas, *The Growth of Federal Finance in India*, Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 408-409.

the federating units might be left free to control the pace or direction of development and the plan itself would pay proper attention to all-sided development of all regions. At the same time, all federating units must accept overall direction imposed by the master-plan. The federal Government must have adequate powers to evolve the general plan of economic development for the whole country and must have powers to carry out its essential features and to supervise and enforce its implementation by the federating units. This is only inherent in economic planning.”<sup>2</sup> Here indeed is logic of federation placed in bold relief against the logic of planning. Professor Gadgil goes on to mention planning of water resources involving extensive river systems, planning of crop production, exploitation of mineral resources, development and location of industry, distribution of essential commodities as so many fields of economic development “which do not lead themselves to fractional treatment”. No matter whether they are enumerated as State functions or as Union functions in the Constitution, in practice the Union Government would perforce be required to be vested with adequate powers to discharge its responsibilities. To quote an English authority on the growing tendencies towards centralisation : “It has been impossible to maintain separate functions of administration. In various cases the federal authority has had to concern itself increasingly with questions affecting education and health services, which from their nature appear more appropriate for treatment by the local authority as being in closer and more intimate touch with the ultimate beneficiary.”<sup>3</sup>

## II

How far have the centralist tendencies prevailed during the last decade of the working of the Indian Constitution? Before this question is answered, it might be best to recapitulate the constitutional provisions governing the relationship between the Union and the States. It has often been said that the Indian scheme of Federation is so heavily loaded on the side of a strong Union that it almost approaches a unitary State. The framers of the Constitution believed that “only the Centre can work for a common and general interest of the country”. The method of “enumeration and residuum” that has been widely employed, e.g., in the United States of America and Australia, according to which the federal powers are enumerated and the residuary powers are left to the States, has not been followed in the Indian Constitution.

2. D.R. Gadgil, *Federating India*, Poona, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1945, p. 44.

3. Cecil Kisch, Foreword to *Principles and Problems of Federal Finance*, by B. P. Adarkar, London, P. S. King, 1933.



No doubt Canadian Constitution leaves residue to the Dominion Government, but the residue is unimportant because enumerated heads are so wide that little is left for residue. The Indian Constitution enumerates functions in three lists—Union, State and Concurrent—which according to Professor Ivor Jennings are so detailed that majority of cases will be covered by express words.<sup>4</sup> The Indian Federation is said to be less federal and more unitary in character not only because the lists assign a wide field of operation to the legislative and executive authority of Union Government but also because:

- (a) Residuary powers of legislation are vested in the Union Government (Article 248);
- (b) The Union Government can trench upon the State list in national interest (Article 249);
- (c) Parliamentary law prevails over the law of the State legislature when the former is enacted under conditions mentioned in (b) above (Article 251);
- (d) In matters enumerated in Concurrent list Union law prevails when it is in conflict with State law; and
- (e) Parliament has powers to legislate for two or more States by consent of and adoption by those States (Article 252).

But the intention of the present article is to bring out the centralist tendencies arising not out of the constitutional provisions but rather as an outcome of actual normal functioning of administration without involving resort to any extraordinary articles of the Constitution. These arise out of "the common determination of the Central Government and the Governments of all the States of the Union of India to carry out the Plan".<sup>5</sup> They are the direct offshoot of the discipline and uniformity which a common plan has progressively imposed. Only a study of the working of the various sectors of development administration will reveal the extent to which, under the discipline of overall planning, centralist tendencies have developed notwithstanding the existence of a Federal polity. It is not possible within the scope of a single article to attempt such a comprehensive study in respect of all the development departments. However, Community Development is taken here as a typical instance of what is often termed as a "Coalition Administration" which cuts right across the three lists enshrined in the Constitution.

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4. Ivor Jennings, *Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution*, Madras, Oxford University Press, 1953. p. 61.

5. Government of India, Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan*, 1956, p. xi.

## III

The enumeration of fields of administration in the three lists of the Indian Constitution was considered by many to be so exhaustive that it was felt that a non-descript item would hardly emerge at least in the near future. But within three years after the adoption of the Constitution such an item did arise. The Community Development programme which was ushered in 1952 under the joint auspices of the Union and State Governments has eluded the Lists. It does not appear anywhere in the exhaustive catalogue of activities embodied in the three Lists. But, while "Community Development" *per se* cannot be traced in any of the three Lists, the components of this omnibus programme can be traced in these Lists, as can be seen from the following chart :

<i>Components of C.D. Programme</i>	<i>Number of the item in the List as given in the Constitution</i>	<i>Description of the item as found in the List</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)
1. Development of pan-chayats and higher tiers of local self-government institutions.	List II, 5	Local Government <i>i.e.</i> , the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government or village administration.
2. Development of co-operatives and agriculture finance.	List II, 30	Money-lending and money lenders; relief of agricultural indebtedness.
	List II, 32	Co-operative societies.
3. Development of voluntary organisation.	List II, 32	Other societies and associations.
4. Agricultural extension and development, including development of fisheries and forests.	List II, 14	Agriculture, including agricultural education and research, protection against pests and prevention of plant diseases.
	List II, 19	Forests.
	List II, 21	Fisheries.

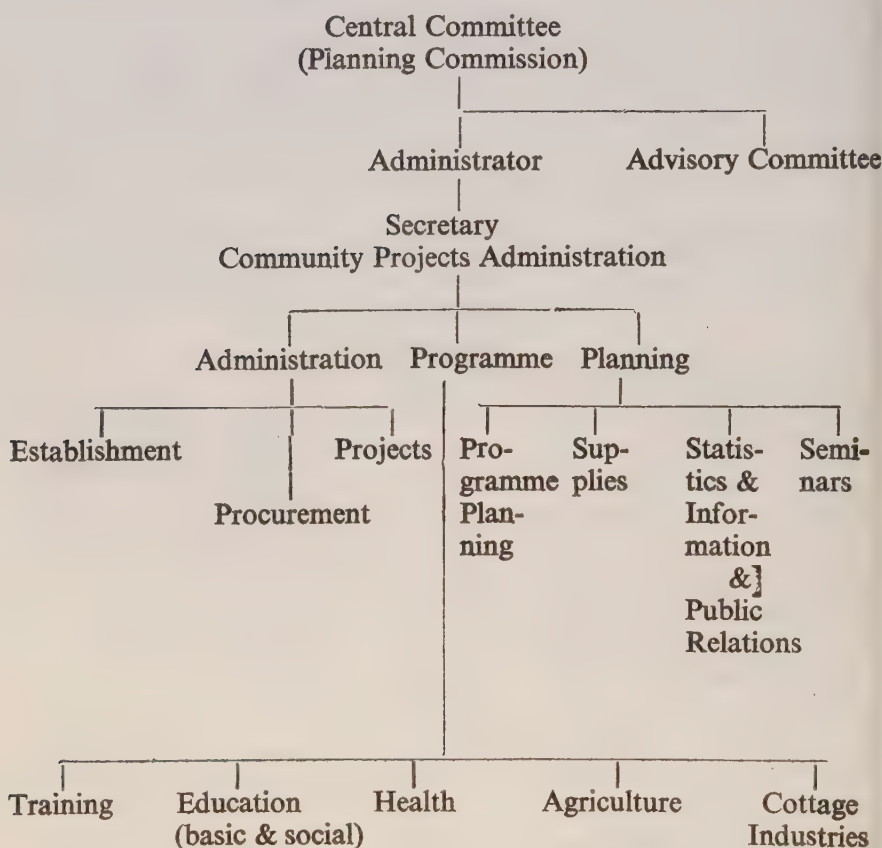


(1)	(2)	(3)
5. Extension in and development of animal husbandry.	List II, 15	Preservation, protection and improvement of livestock and prevention of animal diseases, veterinary training and practice.
6. Education in rural areas.	List II, 11	Education including universities, subject to the provisions of entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and entry 25 of List III.
7. Social education.	List II, 12	Libraries, museums, and other similar institutions controlled or financed by the State.
8. Minor irrigation and reclamation.	List II, 17	Water, <i>i.e.</i> , water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power subject to provisions of entry 56 of List I.
9. Training in and development of small arts and crafts.	List II, 24	Industries subject to provision of entry 52 of List I.
10. Public health in rural areas.	List II, 6	Public health and sanitation, hospitals and dispensaries.
11. Communication—minor roads, causeways, culverts etc.	List II, 13	Communications, <i>i.e.</i> , roads, bridges, ferries and other means of communication not specified in List I.

It will be seen from the above chart that every component of the Community Development programme falls in the State List and yet when the Community Projects Administration was established on the 31st March, 1952, to implement the Community Development projects it was functioning as an independent administrative unit under an Administrator who was responsible for planning, directing and co-ordinating

the community projects throughout India under the general supervision of the Central Committee of the Planning Commission. The original organisational pattern of the administrative set-up was as follows<sup>6</sup> :

*The Administrative Set-up of the Community Projects Administration at the Centre*



Community Projects Administration under this pattern was an *ad hoc* organisation and became a normal wing of the Government of India only after the Administration was incorporated into the Ministry of Community Development with effect from the 20th September, 1956.

While, thus, a fundamental change in administrative pattern took place at the Union level, it continued at the State level to be in the same form as was envisaged even at the beginning of the programme.

6. Report of the Community Projects Administration, 1953-54, New Delhi. Planning Commission, Appendix VIII.



*Community Development Administration in States<sup>7</sup>*

State Development Committee  
(headed by Chief Minister and consisting of  
other Development Ministers with Develop-  
ment Commissioner as Member-Secretary)

Development Commissioner

Joint & Deputy Development Commissioner

Director of Youth and  
In-service Training

Secretariat Staff

Field Operations

Administration

District Development  
Committee.

(presided over by Collec-  
tor and consisting of  
other Development Offi-  
cers)

Project Executive Officers

Block Development Officer

Extension Officers

Train-  
ing

Ac-  
counts

Sup-  
plies

Co-ordi-  
nation

Infor-  
mation  
&  
Statist-  
ics

Project or Block  
Advisory  
Committee

Agri-  
culture

Animal  
Hus-  
bandry

Co-ope-  
ration

Engin-  
eering

Social  
Edu-  
cation  
(Male)

Social  
Edu-  
cation  
(Female)

Indus-  
try

Indus-  
try

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

V.L.Ws.

(Village Level Workers or Gram Sewaks)

Thus, the organisation at the Union level is essentially a staff or-  
ganisation with only Secretariat staff and a set of advisers and only at  
the State level has been evolved a full-fledged line organisation running

7. Community Project Administration, *Manual of Village Level Worker*. The  
Chart is slightly adapted.

right down to the village level with co-ordinators and technical experts at each level. Over years, the Union and State organisations have worked in such great unison that the Union Ministry has found it possible to use the State Organisation as almost its direct operational instrument rather than a distinct administration of an autonomous unit of a Federal structure. The State Administration and the men who handle it have almost developed an allegiance to the Union Ministry and the men who run it. This cohesion has to be traced not to any constitutional provisions but to certain factors in the administration of the programme itself. And it is these latter which are discussed below :

(A) UNIFORMITY OF POLICY DECISIONS :

The basic decisions in respect of this programme have been taken in the main by the Union and have been made effective by States with minor alterations. The basic decisions could well be summed up as follows :

- (1) The block, consisting of 100 villages, a population of 66,000 and a compact area of about 300 sq. miles is the unit of Community Development.
- (2) The Village Level Worker in charge of about 10 villages will be the multi-purpose agent of *all* the development departments at the village level.
- (3) The block level machinery will consist of a team of 7 or 8 extension officers of the technical departments headed by the Block Development Officer.
- (4) The design of the programme will be of a multi-purpose character making financial provisions for agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, education, social education, communication and public health.
- (5) The Centre has not only indicated the broad multi-programme pattern of Community Development, but has, over a period of time, also indicated the major schemes which should be implemented under every head.
- (6) The phasing of the programme will consist of : (a) a pre-extension stage, (b) Stage I, and (c) Stage II, with a uniform budget pattern at each stage.
- (7) In a phased manner indicated by the Union all the villages will be covered by 1963.
- (8) The selection of an area for the location of the block will be made on the basis of the test of self-help and self-reliance.



- (9) There will be a "democratic decentralisation" of development administration with a Panchayat at the village level, a Panchayat Samiti at the block level and a Zila parishad at the district level. Paradoxically enough, this decentralisation pattern is being ushered in progressively in all the States under vigorous Central direction.
- (10) The village panchayat, the service co-operative and the school as the community centre will be the three basic institutions in every village community.
- (11) For all works programme there will be a prescribed measure of people's participation in cash, kind or labour.

Professor Adarkar, while commenting on the division of functions in the German Constitution, refers to what are called "The normative powers of the Federal Legislature". The German Constitution (existing at the time when Professor Adarkar wrote his book) provides for "normative legislation in regard to certain subjects, requiring the States to follow the norms set up by the Federal Government and fill in the necessary details."<sup>8</sup> The Indian Constitution mentions no such category of normative functions; yet what the Union has done in respect of the Community Development programme is indeed to lay down such norms whose influence is astonishingly pervasive and effective and has indeed given rise to apprehensions that the programme has become too uniform and stereotyped to allow for regional variations and local differences. Indeed the Ministry at the Centre have themselves indicated the pattern to suit different regions like hilly areas, dry and desert areas and coastal areas, etc. But again it is the Union Government who have brought out the need for regional variations and have indicated the manner of adjusting the programmes to local variations.

**(B) FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION OF THE CENTRE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK BUDGET :**

Such Central direction as has been indicated above in respect of policy matters pertaining to Community Development would perhaps hardly have been possible but for the fact that a substantial portion of the financial burden of the programme is borne at least initially in Stage I and Stage II by the Central Exchequer. All loan expenditure, 75 per cent of the non-recurring expenditure and 50 per cent of the recurring expenditure, is borne by the Central Exchequer. In a federal structure the comparatively greater elasticity of Union resources as

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8. B. P. Adarkar, *Principles and Problems of Federal Finance*, London, P. S. King, 1933, p. 23.

compared to the State resources generally leads to an increasing reliance by the State Government on the Union Government who gives grants-in-aid sometimes unconditional but more often "with strings". It is through these conditional grants-in-aid that the Union Government imposes a measure of uniformity on the State Government. But the technique of "shared schemes" which has been increasingly adopted in respect of various schemes of the Five Year Plan has led to the acceptance by the States of several "Package Programmes" of which the Community Development is the leading instance and has also led to States' obligations "to match the federal dollar".

(C) CENTRALISED ORGANISATION AND DIRECTION OF THE TRAINING OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PERSONNEL:

The recruitment of the entire Community Development personnel—Block Development Officers, Extension Officers and the Village Level Workers—has no doubt been completely left to the State Governments; but in the training of the personnel, the Union has taken either direct responsibility or has decisively influenced the pattern of training institutions as well as the content of the training. The expenditure on these training schemes and institutions is debited to the Central Exchequer. The Community Development movement has been able to establish a chain of training institutions providing training to Community Development personnel from top to bottom.

At the apex of these training institutions is the Central Institute for Study and Research in Community Development, Mussoorie, which was established in June 1958 for providing facilities for study in Community Development and allied subjects to Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assemblies, top level administrators (including Collectors, Commissioners and Secretaries) and technical personnel (heads of technical departments) from various States. The Research wing of the Institute is to give necessary leadership and guidance to other training centres like Orientation Training Centres, Social Education Organisers' Training Centres, etc.

In February 1959, the Ministry established the Trainers' Training Institute (subsequently christened as Instructors' Training Institute at Rajpur near Dehra Dun) for imparting training in teaching techniques to the training staff in the Orientation Training Centres, Social Education Organisers' Training Camps and Extension Training Centres.

Next in the echelon of training institutions are the Orientation Training and Study Centres—so far eight in number—providing for orientation, job and refresher training to Block Development Officers and other Extension Officers. For the courses run in these institutions,



seats are allotted to various States according to their requirements. These centres provide opportunities—very rarely available otherwise to the junior personnel of the State cadres—to come together, know each other and benefit from mutual experience. The training centres for Social Education Organisers and Mukhya Sevikas (six centres having two units, one each for the training of men Social Education Organisers and Mukhya Sevikas, four for training Mukhya Sevikas exclusively, and two for non-Social Education Organisers only) are also similarly run by the Ministry of Community Development extending the benefit of their training facilities to officers of various State Governments. Training for the Gram Sevikas and Gram Sevaks—men and women workers at the village level—is imparted in numerous training centres and their Home Science Wings run by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in conjunction with the State administrations. As regards the other extension officers of technical departments, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry conducts an integrated course for training of Extension Officers (Industries)—3 months' training in Small Industries Service Institute and 8 months' training in Khadi Gramodyog Mahavidyalaya; the Ministry of Health imparts training to Health personnel engaged in Community Development areas in three Orientation Training Centres and the Central Committee of the Reserve Bank of India imparts training to Extension Officers (Co-operation) in eight centres under its control.

Thus, other central ministries have joined the Ministry of Community Development in the massive effort to train the vast number of block personnel working in all parts of India. The same training facilities are made available to the non-officials at all levels—to Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assemblies and Zila Pramukhs (Chairmen of District Local Boards) at the Mussoorie Institute, to the Chairmen of Block Development Committees or Block Samiti at the Orientation Training Centres, to the members of the Samiti in centrally-financed courses run by non-official institutions sponsored by the States and to the village leaders at the training camps.

(D): The normative influence of the centre is also felt in the prescription of job charts of the Village Level Workers, Extension Officers and Block Development Officers.

#### (E) CONFERENCES, SEMINARS AND LITERATURE:

The Annual Conference of Development Commissioners convened by the Ministry of Community Development and organised by the host State Government brings together the top officials of the State departments, dealing with Community Development programme and

headed by the Development Commissioner, and the Central Government Officers for discussions of important issues arising out of the previous year's working of the programme. The extensive agenda of these conferences generally reflects the thinking of the Ministry of Community Development, and effectively though apparently with the voluntary acquiescence of the State Governments, the decisions of these conferences divert the programme into centrally laid-out channels. Besides these, many other periodical and occasional conferences of the State Directors of In-service Training, of Directors of Youth, etc., constantly serve to promote conformation of State Programmes to centrally indicated norms. These conferences even extend to the State personnel at the grass root—as witness the recently conducted meeting of the best Village Level Workers.

What the conferences do through the spoken word, the books do through the written word. Literally hundreds of books on various aspects of Community Development have been brought out during the last few years—books of all sorts—manuals, pamphlets and blue-books, reports and reviews, posters, folders and broad-sheets which have reached blocks in the nook and corner of the country. And the production of all this literature has been substantially concentrated in the hands of the Ministry of Community Development. Above all, “Kurukshetra” and “Gram Sevak” have established themselves as the organs of national thinking on Community Development.

(F): Miscellaneous schemes of various sorts have also extended the central influence. To mention an outstanding scheme of this sort would be the prize competitions for Village Level Workers and villages the best of which not only at the national level but also at the State and District levels become recipient of prizes awarded by the Union Government.

#### (G) PROGRAMME EVALUATION ORGANISATION:

Just as the audit of not only the Central Government accounts but also of the State accounts is conducted by a Central agency so also the evaluation of C.D. blocks in all States is done by the Programme Evaluation Organisation under the Planning Commission whose annual reports influence the State administrations of the Community Development programme.

## IV

From the above, it will be reasonable to conclude that in an exclusively State sphere of activity, the Union Government has effectively



stepped in as a partner and that too a senior partner not by invoking any extraordinary clause of the Constitution but through the normal processes of administration. The Central influence is felt on State administrations of Community Development as a result of the Ministry of Community Development laying down policies and norms for implementation of the programme, establishing training institutions and imparting training facilities to State personnel, substantially participating in a "Package Programme", conducting periodical conferences, meetings and seminars and producing a constant stream of literature. No influence is stronger than that over men's minds and the Ministry of Community Development has relentlessly pursued the State Governments and their personnel in the indoctrination into its ideas.

## V

In conclusion, one may well reflect as to how far such Central tendencies are desirable. Those having almost a sentimental attachment to the sacred doctrine of State autonomy will cry immediate halt to what they might consider to be federal incursions in the domain of State authorities. But the desirability can also be considered from the standpoint of the effect of such tendencies on the promotion of the ends of the Welfare State. There is no gainsaying the fact that but for Central-State partnership in the programme, it would hardly have been possible to bring into existence throughout India an administrative machinery of a Welfare State in action extending right up to the village level with uniformity of pattern and nomenclature, comparable in its integrity and pervasiveness and superior in training and equipment, to the law and order or revenue machinery set up by the erstwhile British rulers. No doubt even without the Union Government in the picture, every State would have taken steps to strengthen the rural development machinery, but that would have had heterogeneity and unequal intensity. Only less impressive than this are the gains derived from pooling—pooling of training facilities, finance and above all of knowledge, and experience. The pooled experience of all the States is available to every State for it to pick and choose. The Union Government has effectively acted as a purveyor of proved ideas and experiences. As against these gains may be pitted the disadvantages arising out of uniformity and rigidity which exponents of local freedom would doubtless view with dismay, apprehension or even alarm. Nor are these latter utterly unfounded. The blind application of set formulae, schemes and remedies is not an unusual phenomenon. A uniform budget may not meet the needs of every area. A Health Unit may not be required for an area saturated with health facilities, *e.g.*, Coorg. There may not be scope for utilising the fixed minor irrigation

budget in an area entirely covered under a major irrigation project. But, by and large, India's countryside is uniformly underdeveloped and if the fixed 'Package Programme' ensures a "national minimum of amenities" it has all to be welcomed. After all the Central influence is mainly of a normative character and the operational aspects are almost entirely left to the State Governments, who can doubtless introduce elements of elasticity and flexibility by adapting and adjusting the overall programmes to suit the local variations and needs.



"If more individuals can be made aware of the distorting effect of anxiety upon their judgments of personnel and of public and private issues, the continuing reconstructions of civilization toward the more perfect realization of democratic values will be expedited. Hence it is the growth of insight, not simply of the capacity of the observer to predict the future operation of an automatic compulsion, or of a non-personal factor, that represents the major contribution of the scientific study of interpersonal relations to policy. It is by exposing and perhaps destroying the interpersonal relationships which have held true in the past that scientific effort produces the most far-reaching results. Hence all propositions about character or society which are made by the scientific specialist must always read 'subject to insight'. In a sense the aim of the science of man is to make such a science superfluous. This is achieved in the degree that insight into value goals, past trends, and past conditioning factors increases the scope of policy choice touching upon the future realization of a commonwealth in which the dignity of man is respected in theory and fact."

—HAROLD D. LASSWELL  
(in "*Democratic Character*")



# MANAGEMENT FOR TOMORROW

N. H. Athreya

**I**N outline, the thesis of this article is :

In good measure, today makes tomorrow. Our actions constitute the substance of today to build the morrow. An administrator's life is one of action. A significant part of any action is its objectives and implications. If the administrator does not manage by objectives and implications and that, consciously and systematically, he is jeopardising tomorrow. Management for tomorrow should therefore be management by objectives *and* management by implications.

## *Management by Objectives*

The term 'management by objectives' is familiar to students of business administration. The substance of this term is familiar to every successful administrator; for, in effect, that is what he is doing.

It stands to reason that a clear conception of the objectives and a constant awareness thereof makes for significant success. 'Management by objectives' is therefore not merely necessary but vital for the success of *every* enterprise.

Only if we manage by objectives alone and tend to ignore the implications the objectives may get imperilled.

As it is, even 'management by objectives' is not that common. Much more common is 'management by whims'. Either there is a blurred view of the objectives or the awareness thereof is missing, with the result, there is activity, but no achievement; movement, but no progress.

At least one management thinker<sup>1</sup> has delightfully discussed this concept of 'management by objectives' and this article will confine itself to the allied concept of 'management by implications'.

## *Management by Implications*

What we do, and more so, how we do it, can cause certain reactions in people. These reactions in turn cause certain consequences. And these consequences may well defeat the objectives.

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1. Peter Drucker. *The Practice of Management*, London, William Heinemann, 1955.

When a manager<sup>2</sup> does a thing, he tends to think that he is a lone individual and his is an odd act.

In fact, the manager is not a mere individual, much as he may desire to be. Whether he knows it or not, he is a representative of several sections of the population and he stands for certain values.

His act itself is not a lone act. It is a significant one. In the eyes of the onlooker, the act is representative of the man. What may be theoretically described as lone, turns out to be significant as far as the moulding of attitude goes.

The onlooking individual is not an isolated dot in a vacuum either; he is a point in many a circle. And he is representative too.

It is in this context that the reaction of one individual to the action of an administrator has to be viewed. Since the individual develops his attitudes on the basis of one-time acts, since such attitudes are turned on all that the manager stands for in his eyes, and since other dots in his circles are mentally prepared to accept this odd individual's reactions as their own, the implications of the decisions and the actions of an administrator go far beyond the visible concept; they are much deeper, wider and significant than the normal and visual comprehension suggests.

A blunder by a manager affects all the dots in his circles for a long, long time. "All P.W.D. officials are corrupt", for example, may be semantic nonsense but it is good attitude sense.

When a manager gets involved, therefore, all that he stands for gets involved. And he tends to get involved every time he decides or acts.

That he is not aware of what he stands for, does not save him from the consequences. The ignorance of, or indifference to invisible but powerful forces will not save an enterprise from the inevitable repercussions.

It is not as if management by implications is for a distant day. It pays in the short run too. Every decision, action, and behaviour affects the work force and therefore its attitudes to the administrator.

The day-to-day achievements of the objectives are hindered or made halting if those attitudes are not happy.

Management by implications does not concern itself with ends and means or morality or politics. It concerns itself with the reactions of people and the actions they could lead to.

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2. The words 'manager' and 'administrator' have been interchangeably used. The word 'management' itself has been used in its broadest sense.



### *The Nature of Reaction*

Action and reaction, it is said, are equal and opposite. This is in the physical sphere. In the human sphere, the reaction can be more but not equal. How much more depends upon the individual and the opportunities he gets. The power for evil or good—effectively, the power for evil—of even a single individual can be considerable. What of the many! If we continue to antagonise the many, we are certainly not managing for the morrow.

Again, if we cannot visualise its force or impact, we cannot visualise the nature of the reaction either. It may take weird forms, forms never dreamt of. For, implications often concern men and that is dynamite.

Neutralisation of undesirable effects set up as a result of a chain of reactions, to a thoughtless decision, act, or behaviour on the part of an administrator is almost impossible. Relational cancer is more easily started than stopped. Avoiding an action, on occasions, may be better than undoing whatever has been occasioned by a prior action.

When we further recall that a reaction affects not merely that single action but the future actions as well, preventive management makes sense in the sphere of managing the human material.

### *The Seeds of Tomorrow*

While they are working for the objectives, administrators tend to think they themselves cannot be responsible for the defeat of or damage to those objectives. While anxious to preserve the things they stand for, they do not seem to be quite aware of what does help that accomplishment in the long run.

The obstacles to the achievement of objectives come from two sources. One is the deliberate attempt on the part of an external force and this can be and is met fairly effectively. The other would be the unconscious doings of the administrative population. More often, difficulties in the way of accomplishment of objectives are created by the unconscious, uncalculated and yet thoughtless decisions and actions of the administrators.

The reader can readily recall a hundred instances where someone did not manage by implications and so many are paying for it for so long.

Let us take a simple act—or what an exporting administrator thinks a simple act. He exports a product that is not true to the sample. His objective, namely, 'good money', is achieved. But with what dire implications to the trade and commerce of the country?

By one act on the part of an administrator who would not care to manage by implications, the whole nation is condemned. It will be many years of many sacrifices before the lost reputation is regained.

Let us take another. A business manager misuses one import licence. He thinks he is clever. Possibly he thinks he is managing by objectives. But what has he done? What are the implications? Every business manager becomes suspect. Import licence applications get unduly delayed. A good lot of unpleasantness is caused. And those in business tend to blame the Government officials. If they think for one moment, they will find that for the fault of one man, for the default of one man, the entire community suffers.

Let us take a third. An administrator promotes a wrong man out of turn. He does it thinking he is thereby not doing anything seriously wrong. Or, maybe, he does it to prove he is in power. But, what are the implications? Promoting in a wrong way one man becomes equivalent to demoting hundred right men. Not merely the men that are directly affected but the entire work force loses morale. Building back is an uphill task.

Whether at the international level or the national or the unit, being ignorant of or being indifferent to the implications of one's action means grave consequence to oneself and what one happens to stand for—'happens to' because *one may not stand for anything but the situation may make him to*.

Trust, confidence and dependability are to be jealously guarded. And they can be guarded only when we manage by implications.

### *Laws of Future*

"Forgive them; they know not". No, the future will not forgive them. The laws of nature are inexorable and relentless and so are the laws of the future. Intentions of the person do not affect them and regrets do not retract them.

Every effect has a cause and is a cause of the future effect. Human society being a continuous process, the vices and virtues of one generation will shape the future generations. In good part, past has moulded the present and we are paying for the sins of omission and commission on the part of our forefathers.

Past is not past. It is very much the future. The future is uncertain only to the extent we are unmindful of the present. It is in our hands to save the yet unborn children a sad fate.

What the present generation does has two aspects : it affects the present and it creates the conditions which shape the future. Whether

we do it consciously or not, we conceive tomorrows today. Hence our responsibility to the future makes it imperative for us to consider the implications along with the immediate results of our innumerable decisions, deeds and behaviour.

### *Some Guidelines*

The phenomenon of management by implications has been there all the time. We give it a name to give it a focus.

In its very nature, management by implications cannot be a dogma or a fixed tenet or a set of rules. It calls for thought, a sense of values, a sense of responsibility, imagination and dynamic vision—all of which stems from personal discipline. Even so, certain characteristics mark it unmistakably.

Management by implications is management for tomorrow. It demands conscious and systematic effort on the part of the administrator.

Following certain steps, it has been observed, makes management by implications effective.

The first step is to be constantly aware of the fact that in the eyes of the public, we, each one of us, stand for many things—sections of population, a set of values, a system or an institution. In other words, in the eyes of the observer, we are accredited representatives. On the basis of what we do and how we do it, the outsider will form his impression and shape his attitude not merely of and to ourselves but our many constituencies.

The second step is to be alert to this critical assessment. On the basis of such attitudes, others will act towards us and respond to what we stand for. If we hold dear what we stand for, we have to make deliberate efforts to nurture our stand.

Knowing that doing is the substance of the administrative process, we should feel and act responsibly. We should be prepared to look beyond the immediate present, certainly beyond our own personal ends.

The third step is to hold ourselves responsible for consciously and systematically playing our part in shaping the future. This means 'educating' the people that matter on the implications of their possible actions.

Today we take a decision with a conscious eye on the objective and we know the implications in a general way, almost instinctively. For the sake of tomorrow, we should have an equally *conscious* eye on the implications.



This means some self-managing. This means that every time we decide, we pause and think. We ask ourselves questions like :

Who are the people involved? And how are they affected?  
An individual? A group? Several groups? How affected?

What are involved? How are they affected? Objective?  
Principles? Movements? And how?

and probe for satisfactory answers. The implications should be visualised *before* we act. Otherwise, we will be faced with consequences and we are not in executive seats to bring about consequences but desired and desirable results.

Those who are in leadership position should be constantly aware that some one is constantly watching, another some one is constantly listening. Whatever they do is not merely news but it is the fabric of tomorrow. The more important they are—by chance or design—the more significant their hourly life. This again calls for self-managing.

### *Attitudes*

Attitudes in a major way determine one's action. And what makes for one's attitudes to a person or a thing?

Many forces and factors make for one's attitude. In part, what one has heard and read about. In larger measure, what one has come to know of it personally during one's day-to-day dealings. In other words, what happens to one.

Sad reactions emerge when one is hit or hurt. And what hurts is, often enough, not what you do but how you do it, not what you say but how you say it.

Management by implications, therefore, lays emphasis on *how* you do it. And this calls for self-managing too.

### *"No"-How*

Even in an economy of plenty, no one in an administrative position can say 'yes' to every request for long. More so in an economy of scarcity.

But there is a 'no'—how. There is a pleasant way of saying even unpleasant things. There is an agreeable way of doing disagreeable things. It calls for a little extra thought and effort but it is worth it. In fact, this is a must according to this concept.

It is much easier to be curt, crude and unimaginative. But what are the implications? It enlarges the pool of bitterness to new levels.

It sets in relational cancer or ulcer. The pent-up disapproval of the way administrators go about is a veritable volcano. Strikes, it is said, are a symptom of a chronic disease.

This volcano is made ineffective where you manage by implications. This, however, calls for vigilance. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty' may well be interpreted this way.

Vigilance is also called for in matters of wealth and power. *Show* of wealth and *show* of power are things people do not take kindly to.

Vigilance is again required to keep under check those who would not manage by implications, who, in essence, would say : After me, the deluge ! They are the parents of enemies to what we stand for and we have to weed them out.

The demands of the future require the raising of the quality of people. The honest citizenry should be bolstered up. The law of the land and the administration thereof should be such that the good and the honest men thrive—at least they are not put to harassments.

Facts *are* stronger than fiction. If this is not realised, even straightforward people may be forced to go in for logical fiction and this does not augur well for the future. To distinguish the sincere from the dishonest is not easy. It involves risk. It calls for judgment. But what are the implications of taking the easy way, the routine approach to all men?

### *Time is the Essence*

Time is the essence, says management by implications. Either we make time our friend or it turns out to be our enemy. Delay—and most delay is avoidable—is truly treacherous. Only when we manage by implications we visualise the disservice we do for the national interests by tolerating delays.

While avoidable delay is treacherous, management by implications does not recommend haste. It commends cool thinking and thinking means time. We have to find time to think—we cannot be too busy to be effective. It may be that think-help is required and we would do well to take it.

Decision-making is largely a matter of judgment but it is not casual. A statement of implications can certainly accompany a case, as does a statement of facts.

Consciousness of the implications of not managing by implications and self-discipline to manage by implications form then the core of this concept.

*Industrial System in a Democracy*

In a democracy the power of the vote is the greatest power. More and more people will and do vote for something they consider desirable and important for the society at large. This vote is in a fair measure dependent upon the reactions of the people to systems, standards and values. This in turn depends upon their reactions to administrative behaviour.

In today's situation, what the business administrator does and how he does become no less important than "what for" he does. What for he does, the objectives or purpose of the enterprise constitute an invisible factor and can be felt only by what he does and how he does it. It may be true that the profits a business manager gets is the remuneration for his service, for the creation of utilities. The implications of his actions and behaviour might create the impression that he is all for ceilingless profits and that at the expense of the customer. Once the customer is led to believe that the business manager is living at his expense, whatever his professed objectives, he and his kind become a victim of anti-vote.

Service is a fit case for respect, for a favourable vote. The business manager renders as much service to the society as a doctor or a lawyer. He creates work and he creates wealth. How is it he does not attract the vote? This question has to be answered by every manager.

*Applicability to Business Administration*

Industry has much to gain by and therefore a great urgency for management by implications.

In a democracy, the survival of an industrial unit depends upon the survival of the industrial system. The attitudes of the people which in effect will determine the survival of the system are shaped by the way the administrator of the individual unit goes about.

The administrator is working under pressure; he is fighting against time; he is impatient to get certain results. In his anxiety, he tends to forget the future. What he does apparently and currently supports the objectives but it contains within it the germs which over a time would muster and defeat the very objectives. However good the objectives, however sincere the efforts to achieve them, and however legitimate the means, if he does not take conscious care to avoid such aspects of action which will defeat what he stands for, nemesis will overtake.



The success of management by objectives to a large extent depends upon management by implications for the effects of the latter are direct and decisive on the former.

Knowing as he does that his life is one series of decisions and actions, that it is geared to attain certain objectives, that the defeating forces though they may not affect the attainment of the objectives just today may gather strength imperceptibly and threaten the survival, the shrewd administrator plans and performs in such a way that his actions towards the objectives do not create conditions in which the future of the system may be in danger.

The individual objectives of an enterprise should tie in with the larger objective of the nation. They should, in fact, be of a nature of *sub-objectives*. If this is so, every enterprise will attempt to raise the standard of living by (a) creating better goods and services at lesser cost, (b) creating more productive jobs and enlarging the purchasing power, and (c) raising the total wealth of the country by daring risks. Every business manager will conduct himself in such a way that his bona fides are not questioned. Every business manager will be in neighbour's keep. He will do things in a way which will win the respect and sympathy and, therefore, the vote of the people. He has to necessarily make amends for the past but he will tell himself : "Let me do what is well in my hands, what is still in hands."

### *Applicability to Public Administration*

Because of the author's familiarity with industry, the concept has been discussed in terms of the business system. This applies as much to the governmental system.

Just as business managers can choose to shape the future for themselves and what they stand for, so the public servants can shape the future of the governmental system. And in fact, they are shaping and they have been all the time shaping, maybe, not consciously.

In the current context, management by implications is much more applicable to public administration. The pace of progress and the quality of progress lie very much in the hands of the public servants.

It is not merely the fate of a few individuals but also the fate of many a nation-building movement that lies in their hands. What they do and how they do may spark the enthusiasms of people or plain kill it.

Their day-to-day official behaviour can undermine the present government and the governmental system.

Guidelines suggested to business administration are equally applicable to public administration—a representative sense, a sense of time and therefore a sense of delay-guilt and a sense of thoughtful man-to-man behaviour.

### *General Applicability*

Management by implications is a matter of equality. It calls for much more than cleverness. It calls for goodness. It calls for faith in God and man. It calls for certain ethical values, certain sense of grace and certain personal discipline.

Management by implications can be new only to this extent. The results both in terms of the present and the future will be satisfying. These results arise out of a conscious and systematic awareness of the implications of one's action and behaviour.

This is a concept as much applicable to every citizen as it is to an administrator. This too should be underscored. The reason why the administrator has been singled out is that his actions have a wider impact, a deeper significance. If he should decide to manage by implications, it will be seen how a small section of the population can bring about so much good in a short time. Indeed, MANAGEMENT is the key factor in achieving our objectives and assuring our good future.



"I am a strong believer in transacting official business by the *Written Word*...It is always better, except in the hierarchy of military discipline, to express opinions and wishes rather than to give orders. Still, written directives coming personally from the lawfully constituted Head of the Government and Minister specially charged with defence counted to such an extent that, though not expected as orders, they very often found their fruition in action."

—SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

(in "*Their Finest Hour*", *The Second World War*, Vol. II)

## THE ISRAEL CIVIL SERVICE

*Edwin Samuel*

INDIA, on independence in 1947, had one great asset—the Indian Civil Service—which, by and large, was welcomed by the new Government. Israel, on her independence a year later, faced a very different situation. All the most senior civil servants in Palestine had been British who were withdrawn. Of the remainder, two-thirds had been Moslem and Christian Arabs, most of whom also left. Of the Jews in the remaining one-third posts, in the middle and lower ranks, not all were re-appointed in the new administration. Those that were re-appointed helped to form an Israel Police Force, largely on the lines of the former Palestine Police Force : they also continued the traditions of the Palestine Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, and of the Palestine Railways. Many of the other Palestine departments were taken over by officials of the Jewish nationalist movement that had maintained parallel organizations during the British Mandatory period. For example, Jewish education, health and social welfare had been run largely by the National Council of the Jews of Palestine; and, in 1948, it was largely its officials who took over the Palestine Government Departments of Education, Health and Social Welfare and turned them into Israel Government Ministries. Similarly, it was the staff of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency (set up in 1929 by the World Zionist Organization) that created the new Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The new Israel Defence Forces (army, navy and air force and supplies) were built up jointly by commanders of the Jewish nationalist underground forces (the *Hagana*), together with senior Palestinian Jewish officers who had served in the British Army in World War II, many of them in the Jewish Brigade Group that had fought in Italy.

As far as law-making was concerned, it is a sad fact that no Palestinian Jews or Arabs had ever served on the Palestine Executive Council and Advisory (Legislative) Council since 1922. (Before then, for two years only, a few Arabs and Jews had been appointed to the Advisory Council and not elected.) There had thus never been any Palestinian Cabinet Ministers capable of forming a new Israel Cabinet responsible to an elected Israel Legislature. Luckily, the World Zionist Organization elected its own executive democratically at Zionist Congresses held every two years. The National Council of the Jews of Palestine was also an elected body. So was the Tel Aviv



Municipal Council and the executive of the *Histadrut*, the Palestine Jewish trade union movement. All four had helped to develop a healthy Jewish party system, and had produced political leaders capable of forming a Cabinet responsible to Israel's new democratically elected Parliament, the *Knesset*.

The Judiciary also had to be wholly reconstituted. The senior Judges of the Palestine Supreme Court, District Courts and the Magistrates Courts had been British, who had been withdrawn. All the Arab Judges and Magistrates also left. The Jewish District Court Judges and Magistrates, together with selected members of the Israel Bar, helped to re-create the judicial system.

Hence the new governmental machine in 1948 was largely built up out of new men, with the help of a few advisors from the U.N. Technical Assistance Administration, the U.S.A. Point Four Programme, and experts on direct contract from some of the smaller countries. Of these new men—and women—many had come to Palestine or Israel as immigrants with different administrative backgrounds. Some had served in Palestine in different organizations, each with its own traditions. It has been no easy task over the past twelve years to integrate them into a single body with a new tradition of its own.

These new civil servants were drawn from the following sources :

- (a) The Palestine Government;
- (b) The Jewish National Council and the Jewish Agency;
- (c) The Palestine Jewish nationalist “underground”—not only for defence but also to foster illegal immigration;
- (d) The free professions (law, medicine, engineering, economics, statistics, and so on) both those in private practice and those employed in other institutions, such as banks and co-operatives;
- (e) Political parties (not all the leaders stood for re-election : many went into the Civil Service);
- (f) New immigrants who arrived by the hundred thousand after the gates of Israel were opened in 1948, some of whom accepted junior appointments in the Israel Police Force, the Ministry of Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones and the Israel Railways until something better turned up.
- (g) The new generation of Israelis who left primary and secondary schools and the University to enter the Civil Service at different levels as a career.

## II

The creation of a new Israel Civil Service met with several additional problems. First, there was the choice of pay scales. Under the British Mandate, the top civil service salaries had been very many times larger than those at the bottom. But the employees of the *Histadrut* (The General Federation of Jewish Labour) all received the same basic salary, no matter what was their grade and there was much pressure on the new Israel Government to adopt this system. Eventually an intermediate system was adopted—that used for the Jewish Agency officials—with a narrow gap (three times) between the top and bottom salaries. This made it difficult for senior civil servants to cover their expenses and some were forced to take on a second job or to let their wives go out to work, putting their young children in day creches.

There are few strikes in Israel over wages in general as there is an automatic increase in the high cost of living allowances paid when the cost of living index rises more than a prescribed amount over a six months' period. But persistent demands by top administrators and members of the free professions employed in the civil service (doctors, lawyers, engineers, economists, etc.) for higher salary scales resulted in an unfortunate compromise : overtime pay for work at home (which is difficult to control); and automatic promotion to a higher grade after three years (which has distorted the civil service establishment pyramid).

The second problem that has faced the new Israel Civil Service is that of office hours. At present they are roughly from 7.30 a.m. to 3 p.m. most days, with half an hour off for lunch. As the Prime Minister is in his office by 7.30 a.m., all senior officials must do likewise. With Government office hours ending at 3 p.m., many civil servants are free to take on a second job in the late afternoon and evening. They resist any attempt to introduce a proper noon-time break and a later closing hour. Few can get home for a lunch and a rest : restaurants are expensive and there are few Government staff canteens. This is one of the causes of the high ulcer rate among Israel civil servants.

Much time, effort and money has had to be invested in the framing of the new Israel Civil Service, drawn as it is from so many different services. Pre-entry training is carried out largely in the "commercial" classes of the secondary schools and in special training in the universities. The one-year diploma course in public administration given at the Hebrew University (which resembles somewhat the training provided at the Indian School of Public Administration) is

open to B.As. either on its own or as part of an M.A. degree. It is also open to senior civil servants stationed in Jerusalem who take it over two years and are released for eight hours each week from their offices for this purpose.

Short orientation courses are provided for all new civil servants but they are far too short. A proposed cadet scheme for new senior civil servants has been deferred on financial grounds.

Post-entry training on the whole is largely provided by each Ministry for its own staff. But post-entry training in certain common skills (stenography, accountancy, etc.) is provided collectively by the Civil Service Commission. Two weeks' residential courses at the Tadmor Hotel at Herzlia on the coast are provided for groups of top civil servants throughout most of the year, in which Hebrew University staff are included as teachers and seminar leaders. The Israel Institute of Public Administration (founded by the author in 1947) provides evening classes for civil servants and other public officials in the middle grades in both Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Many of the more promising younger civil servants in the senior grades have been enabled to see what is being done in Europe and the United States and in their own specialities through United Nations and U.S.A. fellowships.

The proper conduct of the Israel Civil Service is under continual scrutiny by the press and by the Government itself. All the lower appointments—for artisans, door-keepers, etc.—are filled from the labour exchanges. For the others, qualifying examinations and appointment boards are provided in order, as far as possible, to stamp out nepotism. Some of the most senior appointments are still filled, however, by political nominees. In this, Israel tends to follow the United States tradition rather than the British. An advisory committee of three (including the present author) has been appointed by the Prime Minister to advise him whether any of the political appointments of permanent heads of departments are too outrageous to be approved. The proportion of such appointments is, in consequence, steadily falling; and even the political appointees are now of a high administrative standard.

Peculation by public officials is not condoned by the public in Israel. The press, the police and the office of the State Comptroller (Auditor General) keep a close watch on the activities of all public officials, including the Civil Service. In order to provide some kind of standard for the conduct of public officials in such matters as limitations on the acquisition of property and on participation in politics, the Israel Political Science Association set up a non-official committee (on which the author also served), under the chairmanship of a Supreme



Court judge. Its draft code\* has already been accepted and applied by at least one Ministry in Israel (the Ministry of Education).

### III

The development of an *esprit de corps* in any civil service takes a long time; and the Israel Civil Service is only twelve years old. But the profession of civil servant has already won recognition and the first all-Israel conference of public administrators took place last year. There is a good deal of thinking going on in Israel on administration both in the Hebrew University, the Israel Civil Service, the Israel Defence Forces, and the Israel Institute of Public Administration. The Institute's Hebrew journal "*HaMinhal*" ("Administration") has completed its tenth year and has now merged with a Hebrew bi-monthly "*Netivey Irgun*" ("Paths of Organization") sponsored by the Civil Service Commission. It is the intention now to publish an annual collection of translations into English of the best Hebrew articles on administration that have appeared in Israel during the year.

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\* See *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. V, No. 4 (October-December, 1959), pp. 453-57.

## ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN MANAGEMENT DEVELOPMENT

*Om P. Kaushal*

**T**HE need for an adequate supply of trained managers and administrators in the context of economic planning in India is hard to over-emphasize. The significant rise in investment with a special bias towards industrialization makes heavy demands on the management and administrative skills of the country. The Second Plan provides for an investment of Rs. 690 crores in large scale industries and mining in the public sector as against Rs. 94 crores in the First Plan, and Rs. 575 crores in the private sector as against Rs. 232 crores in the First Plan. Finding the right type of personnel to man these enterprises would constitute the crux of the problem of sound industrial development of the country. It is the purpose of this article to indicate the special role of universities in developing managerial abilities and talents needed by modern industries and business.

The traditional business in India seems to rely on two sources for the management know-how : (1) business experience, (2) inborn business acumen and genius. By far the large majority depend only on the former; the latter is the exclusive monopoly of a few leading industrialists, who control big business and industry in the country. With the recent growth of public enterprises, management jobs are even being entrusted to those who have neither any business experience nor any business acumen, but have shown considerable capacity for judgement and execution in their administrative posts, the eminent members of the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Administrative Service. It may be that some of these persons can utilise their inborn genius for decision-making in business as much as in civil administration. It may also be that some of the leading industrialists have also depended, and with success, upon innate talents for initiating and managing sound business enterprises. But the ever expanding number of business enterprises can hardly rely on this limited reserve of exceptionally gifted persons. Also the growing complexity of modern business makes it doubtful if innate intelligence alone can be depended upon for successful management. By far the majority of people who come into the field of management must be adequately trained in the principles and the practices of management and in the techniques of decision-making so that they can move with greater confidence on the uncharted areas of new business and industry. Business experience is

always helpful and even necessary, but only as a supplement, not as a substitute, for academic training.

The universities have to play an indispensable role in providing the business executives with the training necessary for management decisions concerning production, sales, and financial aspects of the business and developing in them faculties of analysis for decision-making and policy formulation. It is, therefore, of prime importance that the universities in India should frame courses in Business Administration suitable to the needs of the Indian business and industry.

In their evidence before the Radhakrishnan Commission the Indian business pointed out that the training received by the Commerce graduates in the university is "almost purely theoretical and they find that they have to train the Commerce graduate in the ways of business just in the same way as they have to train an Arts or a Science graduate."<sup>1</sup> The Commission itself suggested "that during the period of his study at the university, a Commerce student should be given opportunities for practical work in three or four different kinds of firms."<sup>2</sup> While one can hardly dispute that courses in management should be of a professional nature and that practical training should form a necessary part of these courses, one can legitimately doubt if emphasis on training during the period of university study itself will not divert the energies of the candidates from the more basic channels of training in the fundamentals of management. Adequate attention should be given to courses in fundamental management decisions including approaches to management decisions, for instance, knowledge about the 'Break-even chart' *i.e.*, a chart portraying in graphic form the relation of volume of production and sales to income and expenditure will provide factual information and help in decision-making with regard to problems such as : How much increase in volume must result from a contemplated decrease in unit price for the company to be as well off as before the decrease? Similarly special attention should be given to other management courses like material control and procurement; production planning and control in relation to factory and office operations; pricing and sales control; budgetary and cost control, wage and salary administration; industrial relations and labour relations and organization.

Of course instruction with regard to some of the management subjects like industrial relations, accounts, business economics can be imparted along with courses in social work, commerce and economics,

1. Report of the University Education Commission, 1950-51, Delhi, Manager of Publications, p. 209.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 209.



but business administration courses should cover a well-balanced treatment of management essentials.

Recognising the need, the All India Council for Technical Education recommended the establishment of centres in various parts of the country for imparting education in management studies. Seven centres have been already selected on regional basis to meet the needs of the different industrial and commercial units: The Indian Institute of Technology in Kharagpur and the All India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management in Calcutta for the Eastern Region; The Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay and the Bombay School of Economics and Sociology for the Western Region; The Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore and the Department of Economics, Madras University, for the Southern Region and the Delhi School of Economics for the Northern Region. Another significant development has been the establishment of an Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad. The courses offered by these institutions in the field of business management need reconsideration. The Council is also making investigations to find out and suggest measures for the re-organization and improvement in commerce education with particular reference to the courses of training in business management.

## II

The problem of management studies in universities can be studied under three heads : (i) re-orientation of the existing personnel, (ii) indoctrination of would-be executives in sound business criteria, and (iii) business research in various business activities like marketing, export promotion, company organisation and forecasting of market trends.

### (1) RE-ORIENTATION OF THE EXISTING PERSONNEL :

Indian enterprises, whether public or private, can hardly afford to lose the services of the existing personnel who have accumulated to their credit enormous experience. What is, however, needed is their re-orientation in the light of modern developments in the science of management.

The universities like Harvard and Pennsylvania in the United States arrange refresher courses for men on the job. The Harvard University has an advanced management programme for senior executives, in the ages of 36-50 years, who have demonstrated in their business careers qualities of ability, leadership and adaptability. There are no educational prerequisites for this programme. The course runs for a period of about twelve weeks. The total resources of the university

are made available for this programme. Use is made both of special research studies conducted by the members of the faculty in a number of fields of business, and of case studies collected from specific business organizations. The writer was particularly impressed by a short course in the field of production methods arranged by one of the professors at the University of Pennsylvania.

It is obvious that such programmes enable specially the top executives to learn from the experience of others and re-orient their knowledge in the light of new developments. Such programmes also equip the experienced executives to discharge their duties more effectively than what they were doing on the basis of what they learnt from the experience in their own organizations.

In India, the Administrative Staff College at Hyderabad has made a beginning in this regard. In September 1957 when the College was started it organized a residential study programme with thirty middle and senior management officers sent by various organizations for a period of three months. Mr. Charles A. Myers, Director, Industrial Relations Section, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A., during his visit to India in 1958 considered this College as the 'only high-level residential management training programme in India'.

It is for the Indian universities to arrange suitable courses and organize re-orientation programmes for the old-timers on the job. Such programme should be suitably extended so as to provide for re-orientation of those experienced in the job at all the levels, the top, the middle and the supervisory. Although the management courses at the Universities of Delhi and Bombay as well as the All India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management in Calcutta show an attempt to incorporate the idea of indoctrination and re-orientation, they appear to be restricted to the people who are at the middle level of the management. The junior executives are generally preferred for admission to these management centres and the classes are arranged in the evening for a period of three years generally. They are required to combine their daily office and business responsibilities with studies which, I think, makes it difficult for them to do justice to either.

The object of training these business executives is not to award them a diploma or degree in business administration, which might qualify them better for future promotions. What is needed in the interest of sound business administration is that their personal experience in business is supplemented by training in latest techniques of management. While a part of the personnel may be interested in a diploma or a degree, it is not necessary to impose similar requirements for

everybody. Hence it would be better if the re-orientation programme and the college courses leading to the diploma or degree courses are treated separately. Further, it can also be emphasized that a once-for-all course can hardly answer the needs of those who join these courses for practical considerations. They must be given an opportunity to come periodically, may be yearly, for a few weeks during summer, to these institutions for refresher courses.

(2) INDOCTRINATION OF WOULD-BE EXECUTIVES IN SOUND BUSINESS CRITERIA :

Education of young persons for executive jobs may be imparted in two stages : The first stage is that of preparatory courses which may be completed at the undergraduate level. At this level management education should be broadbased so as to train persons not only in certain specific aspects of management but also to provide them with a broader perspective drawn from Psychology and other Social Sciences, in the light of which they can understand and analyse the various management problems relating to Industry and Labour. Attention may usefully be drawn in this connection to the courses indicated by Prof. A.Dasgupta for the programme of Executive Development in America.<sup>3</sup> The second stage, which we may call the post-graduate management course, should lean towards specialization, preparing candidates for the specific roles in business management. The American experience of executive development courses, to which specific reference has been made by Prof. Dasgupta, may not prove quite adequate for our purposes. It provides only for general education in management, leaving an insight in the technical details to be acquired by business executives in the course of their practical experience on the job. This may be all right so far as training of persons on the job is concerned. But when it comes to training of fresh candidates, post-graduate management courses must provide for a certain measure of specialization so that the executives are in a position to deal with specific problems more confidently bringing to bear upon them the knowledge which they have acquired in their respective fields. Hence it is desirable that at the post-graduate level basic courses must be specifically carved to suit the needs of the practical field of business administration, in which the candidate desires to enter. It is, therefore, of prime importance that every candidate is required to specify his special field of interest at the outset like industrial management, marketing, finance, and accounts. The necessary courses which he must complete in this regard should be

3. See article by Prof. Dasgupta on "Executive Development Programmes in American Universities", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. V, No. 4, October-December 1959, p. 420.



formulated in due consultation with the instructors in charge of that field.

Let us review briefly the set of courses which have been prescribed as compulsory for graduation in business administration at some of the institutions in our country. Every candidate is generally required to complete courses in International Trade, Public Finance, Public Utilities and the like. All these courses are interesting and useful; they help to extend the horizon of candidate's knowledge and interest, but this acquisition may be too expensive; it might be at the cost of more intensive training in the branches which are more pertinent to the specialized field. Since the object of our training is to prepare the candidates for a professional career, the choice between a generalized system of education giving the candidate a wide background in various aspects of business and a specialized method of instruction giving him intensive training in his special field and related subjects is obvious. For example, it is apparent that if a candidate who has indicated Industrial Management as a special field of interest, is also required to take up instruction in International Trade, Public Finance, Public Utilities, he will be wasting all this time, which could be more profitably utilized for courses directly related to it. For example, management principles and practices are regarded as basic courses in business administration at the Indian institutions imparting training in business management. But it is forgotten that the specific content of the course will have to be moulded according to the special field of interest. The set of principles and practices needed for a person in the field of Industrial Management is obviously different from one interested in Marketing.

Specialization in Industrial Management requires a course which gives a comprehensive picture about the various aspects of management applied to industry. It is a course presenting the application of methods of modern management to industrial and business enterprises. It deals with nature of management and approaches to decision-making; the improvement of existing processes, procedures and physical equipments to effect economies and to establish standards; the design and inspection of product; purchasing; inventory and production control, price setting, wage and salary administration, financial incentives and organization.

The same thing applies with regard to other specialized courses like marketing, accounts and financing. The person who wants to specialize in marketing has to take course like Principles of Marketing, Marketing Management and Policies, Advertising—its theory and practice, Marketing Research, Sales Management, Retail Merchandizing,

Distributive Costs, Current Problems in Marketing and Seminar in Marketing.<sup>4</sup>

### *The Teaching Methods*

The method of instruction should be specially designed to suit the professional nature of the subject. The lecture method which is generally practised at the universities in India is only one of the methods to be used in imparting management education to the students. The lecture method at the University of Pennsylvania is distinct from the lecture method practised at the Indian universities in that a course schedule is planned in advance indicating the topics, the dates on which they are to be taken up and the necessary references. The success of this system presupposes only a limited number of students in the class in each course.

The second method is the discussion method which can also be termed as conference method. The third system is the case study method.<sup>5</sup> Case studies are descriptions of real business situations in which the executives have to work. They are obtained by the members of the faculty directly from business and Government administrators. The class discussion is primarily based on the case studies. The adoption of this method with specific reference to the Indian situation would require a long series of investigations in different branches of business and industry. The amount of time and money involved may be beyond our reach for some time. Hence it may be advisable that some of the cases prepared at the advanced universities of the West are usefully adopted in our courses for the sake of reference. However, some efforts are being made in this direction by the Delhi University which provides for "discussions centring round concrete and actual business situations faced by the executives in real life. The cases are obtained by the members of the Department directly from business houses, and are presented to students for class discussion or writing reports."<sup>6</sup>

The syndicate method practised at Henley and Hyderabad provides for discussion among groups or syndicates of nine or ten persons selected on the basis of special spheres of employment like Civil Service, Nationalised Industry, Banking, Industry and Commerce (large),

4. To quote the example of the University of Pennsylvania, a candidate specializing in industrial management is advised to select a minimum number of courses like Manufacturing Industries of the United States, Industrial Relations, Production Methods, Seminar in Industry, Procurement Planning and Control, etc.

5. The details of the case study method and its various forms have been already mentioned by Professor A. Dasgupta in his article on 'Executive Development Programmes in American Universities', *op. cit.*

6. Prospectus and syllabus of Diploma Course in Business Administration, The Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, 1958.

Industry and Commerce (small), Overseas, Local Government or Fighting Services or Sundry Unclassified and on the basis of particular function as Production, Research and Development, Sales, Purchasing, Distribution, Banking, Insurance, Financial, Accountancy and General Management. The discussion is based mainly on the experience of the members. It contributes to the advancement of knowledge by pooling together the varied experience of the members. But it can give them little enlightenment on the problems which lie outside the periphery of the experience of the participants. As a method of instruction for the new entrants there is very little to comment on it.

Fourthly, the field methods can usefully be employed in this regard. This method involves tours and actual inspection in manufacturing and other business establishments. Inspection trips are made to leading companies generally in the proximity of the university. Reports of research projects are based on these visits. Finally, research seminars have a special importance in this field. Every student is assigned a subject for short thesis. He is first expected to present an outline of his project in class and to discuss as a group the accomplishments made and problems involved in the specific investigations undertaken. A student may be given cases in various subjects. For instance, in a case study on 'organization problem' of R.H. West, Inc., he may be given some relevant facts about the company like the present officers of the company and their organization relationships, authority and responsibility etc. and may be required to suggest as to how should R.H. West, Inc. be re-organized for the operation of its branch? Recommendations with regard to the activities to be performed, at the branch, and those to be centralized at the main store; departmentalization of activities at the branch, modifications in organization; authority relationship between main store and branch executives, were to be based on the principles of organization studied in the class. The practical application of the principles of organization will give him an insight into the organization problems which may not be possible except for the case study method. In my view case study method and research seminar method will prove helpful specially in a professional course like business administration in India.

### *Persons to Teach the Subject of Business Administration*

The success of any system of education depends upon the personnel in charge of it. Unfortunately India has not had any long tradition of training in management courses. It is quite natural, therefore, that we do not have many persons who possess both formal training and necessary business experience to help the advancement of teaching and research in business management. Initiative so far has largely



been taken by eminent persons of outstanding general ability, but perhaps with little specialized training in the subject itself. Under these circumstances it may be necessary to seek the co-operation of foreign universities, which have developed the subject after sustained efforts for pretty long period.

The method in which co-operation has so far been forthcoming is one of sending students abroad for training in the field. However, not all the students who have necessary talents for specialization in this branch are under the circumstances that might permit them to go abroad. We can get the most out of the university experience abroad by inviting outstanding experts in the field and organizing centralized facilities for training with their help.

At the same time efforts should also be made to hook up the Indian scholars who established good records at the foreign universities in the field of business administration, by giving them adequate incentives, financial and non-financial, which eliminate the competition from fabulously paid private jobs. A teacher who has studied the subject of business administration in a more advanced university of the world like Harvard and Pennsylvania is expected to know how the various principles of management are applied to the various business problems. For example, a candidate acquainted with the principles of plant lay-out and time and motion economy studies and their application to specific cases can be more useful in imparting training in Production Methods as compared to a candidate who has just read the principles of plant lay-out and time and motion economy studies in theory.

### (3) BUSINESS RESEARCH

Business research in India has been mainly the preserve of either the outstanding business organizations such as Ahmedabad Textile Industry's Research Association, or the Research Sections attached to the Standard Vacuum Oil Company or the Burmah-Shell or of Research Institutes specially organized for the purpose of specific areas of investigation like the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, which admits students for research in subjects like Industrial Engineering and Administration, Economics, and Industrial Psychology. Similarly, research in Engineering subjects is undertaken in the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, and a number of Engineering Colleges, such as the College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur. Besides, there are institutes like the Indian Standards Institution at New Delhi, which lays down specifications for material, tools and products.

There are broadly two areas of research covered by these units : first, the technological aspects of production and second, market surveys and research. It is hard to find any research study in this country

with as comprehensive a scope as the one undertaken by the Stanford University on the management policies and practices of thirty-one leading industrial enterprises in the United States.

Research in these directions is useful and necessary for scientific management and successful operation of business enterprises, whether private or public, but it is not always sufficient. Research in a particular institute or a business organization caters to the specific needs of a particular industry or a particular business unit. It can hardly contribute to the development of those general principles of management which must underlie successful management. What is needed is not so much the actual results about the measurement and forecasting of demand or the finding of the most economical quantities of production or the most efficient technique of production, but the discovery of proper methodology of determining the market demand of the economical quantities or methods of production. The following topics suggest some useful areas of business research :

- “1. The method of determining what incentive plan would best suit a particular class of employees; not the art of installing an incentive plan.
2. The method of determining and testing a test for selecting employees; not experience with tests for employees.
3. The formula for going about a classification and rating of executives; not experience with a plan for classifying and rating executives.
4. The method of determining economical quantities; not the economical quantities for production.
5. The technique of market analysis; not conclusions regarding markets for commodity.”<sup>7</sup>

It is obvious that while the different specialized agencies of research existing in India today are in a position to conduct surveys on particular subjects and give systematic findings of considerable practical significance to particular units of business, they can be of little service either in making contributions to the methodology of such surveys or to the training of research workers needed for this work.

The universities in India have to play a special role in advancing the more scientific aspects of business research. The horizon of their activities and interests will transcend the narrow limits of specific business problems or of specific business organizations. Further, the long traditions of academic training and research already established

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7. W.J. Donald, “Management Research Methods and Qualifications”, *Harvard Business Review*, January 1927.

in the universities equip them particularly for imparting instructions in processes of analysis—the discovery and verification of facts, scientific methods and analysis of facts, and the discovery of cause and effect relationship. The devising of solutions of problems thus analysed, experimentation of devices to meet the situation under investigation and the measurement of results of experiment are the closing chapters in the application of the scientific methods which sound management training provides. It is only a university research centre working in close collaboration with the important business organizations that can provide for a systematic integration of methodological research and training with plain fact-finding investigations.



“Every scheme or invention which adds materially to the prosperity and welfare of the community involves to a greater or less extent a modification of the conduct and habits of a large number of people; and unless these are free to adapt themselves to the new conditions, the experiment will meet with obstacles at every turn, and will be brought to a standstill before it has developed headway enough to be fairly tried. It is probable that the difference between the stagnant and the progressive periods of the world’s history consists less in the absence of men of genius able and willing to make discoveries, than in the reluctance of the community so to change its course of life as to obtain the benefits which a discovery would bring within its grasp.”

—A. LAWRENCE LOWELL  
(in “*Essays on Government*”)



## STAFF ASSOCIATIONS AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

*Haridwar Rai*

A HIGH proportion of employees are now organised into service associations, and trade unions formed on functional basis; and in the Railways, the Defence and the Posts and Telegraphs Departments into federations of unions. The Commission of Enquiry on Emoluments and Conditions of Service of Central Government Employees (1957-59) has put the number of these associations at 956; 356 recognized by the Government and 600 unrecognized ones. The total membership of the associations which had submitted memoranda to the Commission is estimated to be of the order of 7,00,000. If to this is added the membership of both the remaining recognized associations and unrecognized ones, the total membership of the staff associations and unions may well be about half, or more, of the entire strength of the Central Government employees.<sup>1</sup>

### THE GROWTH OF STAFF ASSOCIATIONS

Before 1914, organization of Government employees was confined to the better paid railway employees and some classes of Government servants. The earliest known association of the public employees was the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants of India and Burma formed in 1897 by the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans employed on the railways. After the First World War generally, and particularly after 1926, employees of lower grades working in railways and posts and telegraphs had begun to organize themselves into unions. The Indian Trade Unions Act (1926) accorded the unions a recognized status and it was noted by the Royal Commission on Labour (1931) that definite combinations of employees had come into existence. In the inter-war period these unions pressed now and then the claims of their members and attempted to prove their utility and effectiveness to them. Their growing strength and solidarity were not to the liking of the Government of the day and the latter adopted a more or less hostile attitude. During this period, relations between the Government and its employees were at a very low ebb. The Second World War came as another pulverizer and relations between them further deteriorated. In the words of the Vardachariar Commission

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1. *Commission of Enquiry on Emoluments and Conditions of Service of Central Government Employees, 1957-59 Report*, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1959, p. 548.

(1946-47), the relations between the Government and its employees after the Second World War "approximated to what they were in England at the end of the First World War".<sup>2</sup>

The Second World War was followed by more difficult conditions of life. The pressure of claims, representations and protests from various sections of employees, especially non-gazetted and manipulative ones, who were hit hard by the rise in the cost of living, increased. Unions of railway workers and postal employees gained in strength and number, though not, perhaps, in homogeneity. In 1946, as a result of intense agitation launched by these unions for improvement in the conditions of service of their members, the Secretary, Post and Air Department, Government of India, announced, in the Central Legislative Assembly on the 7th February, that Government intended to appoint a Pay Commission to go into "the whole question of scales of wages, pensions and other conditions of service...as also the question of setting up some machinery for negotiation between Government and its employees somewhat on the lines of the Whitley Councils in the United Kingdom". The Commission came to be known as the Vardachariar Commission after the name of its Chairman. The Commission was distressed to find that "there was absolute distrust... on the part of many grades of public servants as to their ever receiving a fair response from Government to their representations".<sup>3</sup> The Commission also found that "...associations, with different degrees of stability and internal cohesion, have latterly come into existence among most grades of public servants in this country..."<sup>4</sup>. It strongly recommended that the administration should encourage and foster the growth of unions of civil servants<sup>5</sup>; and this recommendation gave a further impetus to the growth and organisation of service associations.

Another factor which stirred the consciousness of, and imparted a sense of pride to organisations of, Government employees was the national liberation movement. During the thirties and forties of the present century, numerous young men who had joined Government services were animated by a high ideal of serving their country and seeing it free. Some of these young men, while in schools and colleges, had participated in various movements launched by the Indian National Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Independence afforded these Government employees an inducement to claim an honourable place in the national administration. Employees working in railways, posts and telegraphs, banks and other industrial

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2. *The Central Pay Commission, 1946-47, Report*, p. 116.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

5. *Ibid.*, paras 212-214, pp. 119-121.

concerns of the Government pressed for the improvement of their service conditions through their respective unions. Similarly, organizations of ministerial employees, Class III and Class IV employees, etc., began to gain in strength and number and became conscious of their corporate existence.

Over the ten years which followed the recommendations of the First Pay Commission the cost of living further increased; the recommendations of the Commission were not fully implemented by the Government of India, and the democratic forces gained further strength with the acceptance of a socialist pattern of society as the national goal. In the circumstances, the lower and middle levels of Government servants developed a deeper sense of frustration and discontent and demanded a general review and a raise in emoluments. The Government, however, felt that there was a case for rationalisation but not for an upward revision. The posts and telegraphs employees served a formal notice of strike beginning from the midnight of August 8-9, 1957; they were soon joined by the Confederation of Central Government Employees, an unrecognized body in existence since 1953. The main demands related to the appointment of a Pay Commission and an interim increase in dearness allowance and its merger with basic pay. The efforts for reconciliation failed and the Government of India announced that the question of the appointment of the Second Pay Commission was under active consideration. As the strike notice was, however, still not withdrawn, the President of India promulgated on August 7, 1957 the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1957. The Ordinance made the threatened strike illegal. It was revoked on August 12.

In August 1957 the Government also amended the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, prohibiting Government servants from striking and being members of unrecognised associations. Rules for recognition of service associations were laid down in March 1959; these rules prohibit Government servants from membership of unrecognised associations.

The appointment by the Government of India of a Pay Commission in August 1957, under Shri Justice Jagannadha Das of the Supreme Court of India, provided another opportunity to Government employees' organisations, gazetted and non-gazetted, to present their case in a concerted manner.

The last three years have witnessed a great agitation by and consolidation of associations of employees of the State Governments. They have continuously agitated almost in every State for the improvement of the conditions of service and for removing of disparities between



their scales of pay and those of the Central Government employees. In addition, there are local demands which are repeatedly put forward in the press and otherwise. The State Governments of Bihar and Rajasthan amended the Conduct Rules in 1958 to prohibit participation in strikes and membership of unrecognised associations. A similar amendment was made by the Government of Andhra Pradesh early in 1959 to meet the threat of a strike by its non-gazetted employees. Other States which have modified the Conduct Rules similarly are Madhya Pradesh and Punjab (1959). Several State Governments have also in recent years made an attempt to review emoluments and other conditions of service of their employees. Those which have appointed Pay Committees or Commissions include Andhra Pradesh (1958), Jammu and Kashmir (1958), West Bengal (1959), Madras (1959), Madhya Pradesh (1959), Mysore (1960), and Orissa (1960).

The two recent important strikes in the public services were the strike by Class III and Class IV Government employees in Madhya Pradesh in December 1959 and a general strike by certain sectors of Central Government employees from July 11 to 16, 1960. The Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha passed on October 6, 1959 the Essential Services Maintenance Bill to meet the threat of the strike of Class III and Class IV employees scheduled to begin on October 7. The strike call was withdrawn at the last moment. The State Government issued notifications on December 9 and 10, 1959, prohibiting strikes by non-gazetted and other ministerial employees and Class IV servants. An indefinite strike was launched on December 10 in defiance of the official ban; but it was over within the next ten days. As regards the general strike by Central Government employees, the Government of India promulgated on July 8, 1960 the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960, to meet the situation. The strike was partial and was called off after 5 days. Both the strikes are a pointer to the increasing determination of the Government servants to secure improvement of their remuneration and conditions of service and to the development of union consciousness and willingness to take corporate action of an extreme kind.

#### THE RIGHT OF ASSOCIATION

The recognition by the Government of India of associations of Central Government employees, other than industrial employees was, till March 1959, regulated by executive instructions issued in 1937. The formal rules for the recognition of associations of Government employees were made for the first time in 1921; they were applicable both to industrial and non-industrial employees of the Central and Provincial Governments. Consequent to the passing of the

Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926, a separate set of rules were issued to regulate the recognition of associations of industrial employees other than the military employees. Both the rules were in the nature of executive instructions and were revised in 1937 to restrict their scope to employees of the Central Government only. The conditions under which service associations of Central Government employees can be formed and recognized are now governed by the Central Civil Services (Recognition of Service Associations) Rules, 1959. There are, however, separate sets of rules for the recognition of associations of non-gazetted railway servants and industrial staff employed under the Government of India.

The Central Civil Services (Recognition of Service Associations) Rules, 1959, as already mentioned, prohibit an employee of the Central Government from participating in any demonstration and from resorting to any form of strike in connection with any matter pertaining to his conditions of service, as also from membership of any service association which is not recognized by the Government of India, or which does not obtain the Government's recognition within six months of its formation. The other two sets of rules in regard to non-gazetted railway servants and industrial staff do not contain such prohibitions. Again, the Central Civil Services (Recognition of Service Associations) Rules, 1959, debar the admission of a person who is not a Government servant to the membership of a recognized service association and prohibit appointment of such a person to its executive<sup>6</sup>; they further prohibit the recognized association from espousing or supporting the cause of individual Government servants; but the rules for non-gazetted railway employees and industrial staff do not contain these prohibitions also.

Another important difference is that the rules for the recognition of association of Central civil services prohibit a recognized association from maintaining any political fund; there is, however, no such restriction in the case of unions of industrial staffs and in regard to associations of non-gazetted railway employees there is no absolute ban on a political fund but only certain restrictions. The associations of non-gazetted employees of the Posts and Telegraphs and Civil Aviation Departments, which like the railway employees are covered by the Indian Trade Unions and Industrial Disputes Acts, are, under provisions of the Central Civil Services (Recognition of Service Associations) Rules, 1959, debarred from maintaining any political funds. It is difficult to understand the basis of this discrimination between non-gazetted railway employees on the one hand, and the non-gazetted

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6. Cf. The 1937 rules permitted appointment of outsiders as office-bearers under certain circumstances.

postal and civil aviation employees on the other.

According to another section of the Central Civil Services (Recognition of Service Associations) Rules, 1959, the prior permission of the Government is necessary before any service association seeks affiliation with any other union, service association or federation. A federation or confederation of service associations "shall affiliate only recognized service associations" and "if the recognition accorded to any of such service association is withdrawn, the federation or confederation shall forthwith disaffiliate such service association".<sup>7</sup> Though this rule is applicable to only about 30 per cent of the total staffs under the Central Government,<sup>8</sup> yet it is improper that an employee should be liable to disciplinary action merely for having become a member of an unrecognized association, irrespective of the aims and objects of the association or its activities. The discretion to grant or withhold and withdraw recognition rests entirely with the Government. In case an association takes recourse to, or assists in, activities which, if resorted to by individual Government servants, would constitute a breach of the provisions of Rules 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 13, or 17 of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955, it would be reasonable not only to refuse or withdraw recognition, but to require the Government servants concerned to withdraw their membership on pain of disciplinary action<sup>8</sup>. The Jagannadha Das Commission has therefore observed that "as regards recognition of associations, the rules framed by the Government of India appear to us to be rather stringent". It has recommended that "membership of an unrecognized association should not as such be a disciplinary offence", and that "the rules of recognition should be conceived, and recognition granted in a liberal spirit".<sup>8</sup> The Commission further holds that "... reasonableness of the rules for recognition of staff associations is a necessary condition of a proper working of a joint machinery for consultation and negotiation, and of provision for arbitration".<sup>9</sup> That the prior permission of the Government for outside affiliation is necessary is itself a whip with which the Government has armed itself to chastise unions and to bring them in line with its policy.

The rules for recognition of the Central services staff associations also prescribe that the prior approval of the Government is necessary for publishing any periodical, magazine or bulletin relating to any association. Such a condition seems to be unnecessary and unreasonable because the Government can, under the rules, discontinue the publication of such a journal or periodical if it considers it

7. Rule 6.

8. *Commission of Enquiry on Emoluments and Conditions of Service of Central Government Employees, Report, op. cit.*, p. 540.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 550.



"prejudicial to the interests of the Central Government, the Government of any State or any other Government authority or to the good relations between the Government and its employees".<sup>10</sup> The best approach to be adopted in this matter is thus stated by the Jagannadha Das Commission : "The approach in our view should not be to place a general ban on public expression of views, and then to provide for some exceptions; the approach should be to recognize a general freedom of intellectual expression, and to impose only such specific restrictions as are necessary to meet the requirements of the public service".<sup>11</sup>

Another rather unreasonable condition for recognition which is prescribed in the Rules of 1959 relates to the previous approval of the Government to any amendment of substantial character in the rules of a service association. Staff associations should be free to amend or modify their rules within the broad framework of a more liberal policy of the Government determining recognition of staff associations. It should not be necessary for staff associations, either at the formation stage or later, to submit their rules, or any amendment thereto, to the Government.<sup>12</sup>

A close examination of the recognition rules thus reveals that they are unduly stringent and bind down staff associations to such an extent as to leave them little freedom and initiative.

#### THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

##### *The Position in India*

Till 1957, there was no specific ban on the right of Government servants to strike; striking was, however, treated as an unauthorised absence from duty, and thus a disciplinary offence. As mentioned earlier, in August 1957, the Government of India amended the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, 1955, so as to ban in specific terms the strikes and demonstrations by Government employees. The ban on the strike also applied to industrial workers employed in State-owned or managed undertakings other than Railways to which the Conduct Rules were also applicable. This created an anomalous situation. Considering the protest and agitation launched by employees' associations, and in fairness to the past practice, the

10. Rule 5 (i).

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 525.

12. Albert Day is of the opinion that when a service association seeks official recognition, it should not be required to submit its rules for approval but only be required to give an assurance that it will consist of public officers only and will have no political objects or affiliation. See Day, A.J.T., "Principles of Whitleyism", *Public Administration*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4 (1948), p. 235.

Government of India announced on March 10, 1959, an amendment of the Central Civil Services (Conduct) Rules, conceding its non-gazetted industrial employees drawing Rs. 500 or less and working in Government-owned or -managed industrial and commercial establishments other than railways, the rights to strike, to join in demonstrations and to join any associations. The personnel exempted from the ban on the strike include employees working in docks, defence installations except training establishments, public works establishments in so far as they relate to work-charged staff, irrigation and electric power establishments, mines, factories and field units of the Central Tractor Organisation employing workmen governed by labour laws.

The present position is that non-industrial Government servants, and Government servants employed in administrative, supervisory or managerial capacity in departmentally managed State industrial undertakings and drawing a salary above Rs. 500 p.m., are prohibited from striking under the provisions of the Conduct Rules. As the Conduct Rules did not apply to other categories of industrial staff, the Central Government had to promulgate recently the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960, to meet the threat of the general strike which was to commence from the midnight of July 11.

The imposition of a ban on the Government servants' right to strike has recently been the subject of some legal interpretations. In March 1958, in the Patna Ministerial Association vs. the State of Bihar,<sup>13</sup> the petitioner argued that the rights to strike and to demonstrate were necessary adjuncts to the fundamental rights to form associations and of freedom of expression. The High Court ruled that so far as Government servants were concerned the freedoms guaranteed under the Constitution did not include freedom to strike or demonstrate publicly. According to the Court, the way in which Government servants conducted themselves was a matter of public importance and interest. The public interest would suffer if Government servants resorted to strikes and demonstrations. In the Tamilnad Non-Gazetted Officers' Union vs. the State of Madras,<sup>14</sup> the Madras High Court held that the characteristics of the trade unions, their rights and privileges would be wholly inappropriate in the case of civil servants under the Government. Employees of the Government were the servants of the State, most of them having powers by virtue of their office. Public interest required that their loyalty and fidelity should be undivided and unquestioned. The provisions of Article 19 (1) (c) concerning the right to form associations or unions

13. *The Civic Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 8 (April 1958), pp. 31-32.

14. *The Civic Affairs*, Vol. 6, No. 8 (March 1959), pp. 34-35.

would not be infringed if an association or union of employees was refused registration under the Trade Unions Act. The Division Bench of the Andhra Pradesh High Court dismissed, on October 5, 1959, a writ petition, filed by the Andhra Pradesh Non-Gazetted Officers' Association, questioning the show cause notice issued by the State Government of Andhra Pradesh as to why the association's recognition should not be withdrawn, following the publication of a press statement by its General Secretary containing "certain observations on the action of the Chief Minister and the policy of the Government". It was now well settled, the Court observed, that the rules prohibiting Government servants from certain conducts pertained to the conditions of service did not violate any of the guarantees in Article 19 (1) (a) and 19 (1) (c) (*i.e.*, the right to freedom of speech and expression and the right to form associations or unions).<sup>15</sup>

The Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960, which was promulgated by the President of India on July 8 this year to meet the threat of the general strike, has recently been questioned in the Madras Chief Presidency Magistrate's court, on the ground that it contravenes the provision of Article 19 (1) (c) of the Constitution of India. The provision of Article 19(2), it is argued, empowers the Government to impose "reasonable restrictions" on the right of association but it does not enable it to suppress the right totally. The matter is still *sub judice*.

### *The Three Schools of Thought*

There are three main schools of thought on the right of Government servants to strike. The first school favours the grant of full trade union rights to civil servants, including the right to strike. The second school stands for all-inclusive prohibition of strike by Government employees. The third group of thinkers holds a mid-way view, *i.e.*, that the right of Government servants to strike should be prohibited only in case of a serious threat to the public interest, *e.g.*, in public utilities and other essential services.

The proponents of the grant of the full right of strike contend that the right to strike is an inalienable basic right; the right to strike is not one to be asked for, it must be taken. "The basic fact is the power—the physical power—to strike. This any one can exercise alone or in combination, if he be determined enough. The law cannot say him nay. It can only tell him that if he does strike, he or the combination to which he belongs for strike purposes will suffer legal penalties. ... There would be a much stronger case for prohibiting

15. *The Civic Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (November 1959), p. 41.



the bakers from striking than for prohibiting civil servants."<sup>16</sup> The prohibition of a strike by civil service regulations cannot be justified either in logic or in political philosophy. The threat of strike is a symptom of a serious defective personnel system.<sup>17</sup> "The public employees' strike is nearly always a measure of desperation; if conditions are sufficiently bad, it will be employed whether or not its use is legally recognised."<sup>18</sup> "To deny to any group of employees the right to strike against intolerable conditions is to reduce them to a form of slavery."<sup>19</sup> The followers of this school of thought "distinguish the State as employer from the State as sovereign authority, and they do not accept that the State as employer should have rights and immunities not available to other employers".<sup>20</sup> They often refer to the position in the matter obtaining in the U.K. Civil servants in England are free to form themselves into a registered trade union. They, then, acquire all the immunities which a trade union enjoys as a legal entity including the right to conduct a strike. But so far very few civil service unions have become registered trade unions. In the U.K., the right to strike is "vetoed by custom and not by law".<sup>21</sup> Although there is no law against civil servants going on strike, (striking can be treated only as a disciplinary offence), they do not in practice go on strike or threaten<sup>22</sup> to strike. What is important, therefore, is not whether civil servants possess this right but whether they are contented with the conditions of service under which they work. If they are not satisfied with their present pay, hours of work etc., and if no effort is made to improve them, it is legitimate for the staff associations to exercise their inherent right.

There are equally weighty arguments against the right to strike by civil servants. The civil service carries the day-to-day administration of a country, and upon its continuous and ceaseless operation depends the continuity of a society. The grant of the right to strike to civil servants in any form would endanger a systematic, orderly and continuous conduct of Government activities. The supporters of this view point out that all Government servants may legitimately be denied the right to strike, as the State being free from the profit motive, and being itself responsible for preventing exploitation of any

16. Day, A.J.T., *op. cit.*, p. 234.

17. Mayers, Lewis, *The Federal Service*, New York (1922), p. 558.

18. Mosher, William E. and Others, *Public Personnel Administration*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1950, p. 359.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

20. *Commission of Enquiry on Emoluments and Conditions of Service of Central Government Employees, 1957-59, Report, op. cit.*, p. 541.

21. Gladden, E.N., *Civil Service or Bureaucracy?*, London, Staples Press, (1957), p. 118.

22. Houghton, Douglas, *Whitley Councils in the British Civil Service*, I.I.P.A., 1957, p. 18.

section of the community, the State can be relied upon to be fair to its own employees; and that, in any case, there is Parliament to safeguard the legitimate interests of Government servants.<sup>23</sup> It is further contended that the very possession of the right to strike has an adverse psychological influence upon those who possess it : it fortifies their will as well as their power to resist, by offering an alternative to negotiations with the goodwill of the other party. President Roosevelt declared in 1937 that "...militant tactics have no place in the functions of any organisation of government employees. Upon employees rests the obligation to serve the whole people whose interests and welfare require orderliness and continuity in the conduct of Government activities. This obligation is paramount...a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an intent on their part to prevent or obstruct the operations of Government until their demands are satisfied. Such action, looking towards the paralysis of Government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable".<sup>24</sup> The above policy was subsequently embodied in the Labour Management Relations Act, 1947. This Act, which is also known as the Taft-Hartley Act, provides that "It shall be unlawful for any individual employed by the United States or any agency thereof including wholly owned Government Corporations to participate in any strike." A law enacted in 1955 (Public Law 330, 84th Congress) provides that "No person shall accept or hold office or employment in the Government of the United States or any agency thereof, including wholly owned Government Corporations who participates in any strike or asserts the right to strike against the Government of the United States or such agency, or is a member of an organization of Government employees that asserts the right to such strike." Other countries in which the employees of public services and utilities cannot strike are Australia (*e.g.*, Victoria, South and Western Australia, the Commonwealth Public Service), Canada (*e.g.*, Quebec), Japan and Switzerland (Federal employees).

In India, recently, the Jagannadha Das Pay Commission has in an equally unequivocal and clear language maintained that "it is wrong that public servants should resort to strike or threaten to do so, and that persons entrusted with the responsibility for operating services essential to the life of the community should seek to disorganise and interrupt those services in order to promote their interests. Apart from these moral aspects, there is little doubt that in Indian conditions in which there is often a possibility of eruption

23. *Ibid.*, p. 541.

24. Quoted by White, L.D., *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, New York, Macmillan Company, 1955, p. 427.

of indiscipline in an ugly form in one section of the community or another a strike or even demonstrations by Government servants cannot but be a factor making for indiscipline generally".<sup>25</sup> Thus, according to the Commission, a strike is incompatible with public employment, not only from moral aspects but also from practical considerations. It is not only a threat to the continuity of society but also a challenge to authority. It is most likely to undermine public confidence in a democratic structure of government by seriously interrupting the government's administrative functions. The Commission will, however, like that "a change should be brought about by the employees themselves abjuring the use of the strike weapon and demonstrations, and the Government accepting a convention that they would refer to arbitration any dispute concerning important matters, such as pay and allowances, leave entitlements and hours of work, which are not settled by negotiation."<sup>26</sup>

The point of view of the middle school of thought has been best expressed by Dr. L.D. White as follows : "A strike that would bring direct, immediate, certain and serious danger to a primary interest of the community should be prohibited by law, with adequate sanctions, but also with adequate means to secure full public consideration and solution of the issue involved."<sup>27</sup> Here the criterion of distinction becomes the impact of a strike upon the public interest, not whether the employer is public or private. This view seeks to find a solution which, while protecting an important aspect of freedom, also seeks to protect the public interest. It is an *ad hoc* solution, proceeding slowly from case to case as circumstances require. Nevertheless, it seems more in consonance with the ideals of a democratic society.

#### THE ALTERNATIVES TO STRIKE

On a balance of considerations it appears that if the freedom of Government employees is to be restricted, justice and sound administration demand that Government accept responsibility for the establishment of machinery for peaceful solution of grievances. If such methods are non-existent, civil servants may be forced to resort to strong methods, such as strike and demonstration. If all civil servants go on strike at the same time it would result in near anarchy and the possible dissolution of Government itself. An alternative to strike will be the substitution of political pressure which will lift the bargaining process into the political arena, rendering staff associations

25. *Report, op. cit.*, p. 541.

26. *Report, op. cit.*, p. 542.

27. White, L.D., *op. cit.*, p. 428.



as a football in party politics.<sup>28</sup> In a country like Britain, which has provided such institutions as the Whitley Councils, the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal and the like, strikes tend to become redundant. "The provision of ample opportunities for expression of opinion and ventilation of grievances by constitutional methods and on democratic lines is far more likely to avoid violent conflicts than are the methods of State absolutism."<sup>29</sup> It is just possible that even these democratic methods of resolving disputes between the administration and the employees may fail to bring about complete industrial peace or harmonious relations in the administration. But one great purpose which they will undoubtedly achieve is "to turn unions of employees from 'militant' into 'litigious' organisations".<sup>30</sup>

Dr. Herman Finer has suggested two indispensable substitutes so that strike is eliminated as a method of settling disputes. They are : (1) institutions in which civil servants can obtain a full and proper hearing, and in which their legitimate grievances can find redress; and (2) public recognition that the authority of the people, of the legislature and ministers, has moral bounds. Thus authority must be willing to temper the doctrine of treasury control and economy with justice to officials. He concludes, "as the civil service is expected to subject itself to the community, so is the community obliged to subject itself to the civil service".<sup>31</sup>

The Second Pay Commission has observed that "In the circumstances, if a proposal that Government servants should give up the strike weapon is to have a just basis, and is to secure reasoned acceptance by them, there should be set up an adequate machinery for negotiation, redress of grievances and settlement of disputes; and there should, further, be provision for arbitration to which recourse can be had, should a difference on a question of remuneration or some other particularly important condition of service, such as leave and hours of work, remain unresolved. It is only thus the Government would be discharging the obligation towards their employees which they would be assuming by requiring them to give up the right to withhold their labour. If it is in the public interest that Government servants should not use a weapon which, in the hands of other employees, is an effective instrument for securing fair remuneration and

28. Dymond, W.R., "The Role of the Union in the Public Service", in *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada*, 1953, p. 63. Civil service associations in India can not resort to lobbying in any significant sense *vide* Rule 17 of the Central Civil Service (Conduct) Rules, 1955, and Rule 4 (i) of the Central Civil Services (Recognition of Service Associations) Rules, 1959.

29. *The Central Pay Commission* (1946-47), Report, p. 122.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Finer, Herman, Methuen & Co., 1956, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, London, Henry Holt & Co., 1949, p. 902.

satisfactory conditions of employment, it is only just and right that the Government servants should have an alternate arrangement for securing equitable treatment.”<sup>32</sup> The Commission has logic in its favour when it recommends that, together with compulsory arbitration on differences, joint consultative machinery<sup>33</sup> should provide all that is necessary for discussion and settlement of employees’ grievances without impairing the Government’s responsibility to Parliament or entrenching on other larger issues of administration.

It may be contended that if the decision of an independent non-partisan arbitration board is made binding, a serious constitutional problem may arise. It will put the sovereign legislature in the position of having to accept decisions affecting salary and working conditions from an independent agency which is not responsible to it. A modification of this suggestion which does not pose the constitutional difficulty is to have the dispute referred to an outside board of arbitration but to allow the legislature to accept or reject its findings. In this case, the Government would have to answer at the bar of public opinion for its failure to accept the findings of a neutral court of last appeal. Thus the method of joint consultation and arbitration may be a suitable substitute for the usual devices of collective bargaining which are most suited to private employment.

#### CONCLUSION

The fundamental question is : Can the Government, which is free to regulate within the broad institutional and national framework the conditions of service of its employees like any other employer, impose on them restrictions which seem to be incompatible with constitutional rights and democratic practices? As in other fields, the Government must set the pace; it must practise those principles of human relations which it prescribes for the private sector. It must evolve a machinery for joint consultation under which genuine grievances are speedily redressed and disputes settled amicably. The Government must lay greater stress on the positive aspects of employer-employee relations than on punitive practices and threats. The Government must realise that democracy is a system of Government which fosters on and promotes organised mutual self-restraint. “The life of a free society depends upon the maintenance of freedom and authority in delicate balance. The preservation of the balance depends, in turn, upon mutual restraints on the part of both Government and its employees founded upon the recognition of the fact that in real

32. *Commission of Enquiry on Emoluments and Conditions of Central Government Employees, 1957-59, Report, op. cit.*, p. 541.

33. *Ibid.*, paras 11-14, pp. 547-549.

life there is neither complete liberty nor absolute sovereignty.”<sup>34</sup>

To conclude, we agree with Herman Finer that strikes of public employees should be prohibited provided explicit methods of negotiating settlements of their disputes with the administration are established. Here, it is very important to note well the condition upon which the prohibition is to be based. The provision of “ample constitutional channels” is satisfied only through development of co-operative policies and machinery over a period of years. Until the practice of consultation and collaboration has reached a stage where it guarantees “bearable working conditions”, the prohibition of strikes is generally considered to be unenforceable. “...it is apparent why it is absurd to ‘forbid’ the strike of civil servants. It is as absurd as to declare a revolution unconstitutional, or to outlaw war. On the contrary, none of these events can be ‘legalized’; they show that every legal order rests upon a fact of nature, a social reality beyond all law, namely, the groups of human beings to which it applies.”<sup>35</sup>

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34. Spero, Sterling, *Government as an Employee*, New York, Remsen Press, 1948, p. 487.

35. Friedrich, Carl J. and Cole, Taylor, *Responsible Bureaucracy*, Harvard University Press, 1932, p. 86.



## RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

### (I) INDIA

An important recent development in the field of recruitment to public services related to the decision by the Government of India, in pursuance of the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission, that the posts of the Upper Division Clerks will, in future, be filled up not by direct recruitment but by promotion of Lower Division Clerks. The minimum qualification for entry into the clerical services (lower division) remains matriculation or equivalent, until replaced by higher secondary.

Another noteworthy development during the last quarter was the formulation by the Government of India of a new policy of recruitment to public undertakings. Certain guiding principles have been laid down for recruitment to the State industrial undertakings with a view to satisfying the claims to employment of the people of the State or region where the undertaking is situated. Preference is to be given to persons who come from areas nearabout the place of location of the project if not the State in which the project is situated for all clerical, skilled and non-skilled posts below Rs. 350 p.m. Adivasis and members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and persons displaced from the area acquired for the project will be given priority over others. Next in order of priority will be persons retrenched or likely to be retrenched from other Government undertakings. All vacancies below Rs. 350 p.m. will be notified to local employment exchange and advertised in

local newspapers, preference being given to candidates registered with employment exchanges. In case of middle level technical and non-technical staff, carrying grades (Rs. 350-850) recruitment would be made on an all-India basis, merit and qualification being the main criteria. However, other things being equal, adequately qualified local candidates would be preferred. For higher non-technical posts carrying grades from Rs. 600 and above, recruitments are to be made from the Industrial Management Pool. In case of failure in getting suitable candidates from the Pool, candidates might be recruited on an all-India basis; this would not, however, preclude considering candidates who have applied of their own or those who have been retrenched from other undertakings. As regards higher technical posts, recruitment has to be made on an all-India basis or by personal contacts and negotiations.

In pursuance of the above policy decision, the Bihar Government has decided to form a pool of gazetted officers for deputation to public sector undertakings in the State under the administrative control of the Union Government.

The Government of Uttar Pradesh has decided that appointments to all higher posts in the newly formed Municipal Corporations of Allahabad, Lucknow, Kanpur, Agra and Varanasi, (except to the post of Mukhya Nagar Adhikari or the Commissioner of the Corporation), as also to other posts carrying an initial salary of not less than

Rs. 200 p.m., will be made in consultation with the State Public Service Commission.

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The State Government of Bihar has added a paper on "Development", carrying 200 marks, to the syllabi for the departmental examinations of the officers of the Indian Administrative Service, the Bihar Civil Service (Executive Branch), and the Bihar Junior Civil Service.

The Government of Rajasthan has decided that candidates securing 65% or more marks in the Junior Diploma Course in Secretarial and Business Training, started in July 1959 in collaboration with the Rajasthan University, will be taken straightaway as Upper Division Clerks. Those candidates who qualify at the Course when recruited as Lower Division Clerks will be allowed two advance increments. In all future recruitment, preference will be given to those who successfully complete the Diploma Course.

The State Government of U.P. has, in consultation with the High Court of Judicature at Allahabad, decided to introduce a probationary training course of four months' duration for candidates selected for the U.P. Civil (Judicial) Service. Training will be imparted in Civil Law, Indian Constitution, Public Administration, Indian History, and Planning and Community Development as also in horse riding, musketry, swimming and horticulture.

The National Defence College, organised on the pattern of the Imperial Defence College in the U.K., commenced functioning in New Delhi on April 27. The College provides joint training and instruction to senior officers of the Armed Forces and the Civil Services in dealing with the wider problems relating to the defence of the country.

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In accordance with the provisions of the Bombay State Re-organisation Act, 1960, two new States—Maharashtra and Gujarat—were created with effect from May 1, by bifurcating the State of Bombay. This increases the total number of the constituent States of the Indian Union from 14 to 15 (excluding Union territories).

With a view to meeting the additional requirements of higher administrative personnel during the third Plan, the Government of India has increased the sanctioned strength of the Indian Administrative Service to 1,971. The actual number of officers belonging to the cadre is 1,693, as against the sanctioned strength.

The State Government of Andhra Pradesh has set up an Administrative Reforms Committee, with the Chief Secretary to the Government as Chairman, to review the working of the present administrative machinery with a view to assessing its adequacy to a Democratic Government and a Welfare State; to assess the suitability of the office systems in vogue; to suggest measures for the better co-ordination and for decentralisation or delegation of powers; and to examine the adequacy of public relations in all Government offices.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has announced its decisions on the recommendations of the State Pay Committee in regard to the revision of pay scales. Forty-two new scales of pay, as against nearly 70 old pay scales, have been introduced, effective from November 1, 1958, for posts under the State Government including those in the Education, Forest, Co-operation, Police and Medical Departments. The revised pay scale for Upper Division Clerks of the Secretariat, the State Legislature and Governor's Secretariat is Rs. 100-5-120-10-200. Graduates and persons with higher

qualifications appointed as Lower Division Clerks or Typists will start at Rs. 62 in the grade of Rs. 50-120 and holders of recognised certificates or Diploma in Commerce at Rs. 56 in that grade. The initial pay of graduates already in service and drawing less than Rs. 62 will also be fixed at Rs. 62. Weightage of one increment for service up to five years, two increments for service of five years or over in his present grade, shall be given subject to the condition that the employee elects the new grade and has put in a minimum total service of two years in the old grade up to November 1, 1958 or the date on which he enters the revised scale. Further, for those whose rate of increment is Rs. 15 or more at the time of fixation of pay in the revised grade, weightage will be limited to only two increments; for those with an increment of Rs. 25 or more, it will be limited to only one increment. Revised rates of Dearness Allowance have been prescribed for employees opting to new scales of pay—the minimum being Rs. 30 for a pay of Rs. 43 or less. The Compensatory Allowance will not be admissible to employees provided with free quarters. Posts carrying the pay scale of Rs. 250-400 or higher will be treated as Gazetted. Deputy Chief Accountants in the Electricity Department and Lay Secretaries (Grade II) in the Medical Department carrying the revised pay scale of Rs. 150-300 will continue to hold the Gazetted status. District Fire Officers, Tahsildars, Settlement Tahsildars, Huzur Sirastadars and Block Development Officers will hold Gazetted status in future.

The State Governments of Mysore and Orissa have constituted Pay Committees to review and make suitable recommendations regarding the existing pay structure and other service conditions of Government employees with due regard, however,

to the financial resources of the States. The review by the Orissa Pay Committee will be limited to State Government employees the minimum of whose scale is Rs. 250 or less.

The Government of Madras has announced its decisions on the recommendations of the State Pay Commission which submitted its report on April 5. The main recommendations of the Commission in regard to pay scales which have been accepted by the Government are : (1) a minimum wage of Rs. 60 for an employee drawn from the working classes such as a Last Grade Government servant; (2) a minimum remuneration of Rs. 100 p.m. for middle class employees (such as clerks) in "white-collar" jobs; (3) revised scales of pay as follows : for Last Grade Government servants, Rs. 50-1-60 as against the old scale of Rs. 18-1-25; for Lower Division Clerks, Rs. 90-4-110-3-140 as against Rs. 45-3-60-2-90; for Upper Division Clerks, Rs. 125-5-175 as against Rs. 80-5-110-3-125 and Rs. 80-4-110; (4) higher pay scales for police personnel, teachers in Schools and Colleges, key staff in Engineering Colleges and Polytechnics and industrial employees of Government; (5) the bulk of the Dearness Allowance should hereafter be merged with the pay; it should be Rs. 10 up to a basic pay of Rs. 150 and Rs. 20 for a basic pay of Rs. 150 and above but below Rs. 300; and no Dearness Allowance for employees drawing more than Rs. 300 as basic pay; and (6) an *ad hoc* increase of Rs. 5 p.m. for all full-time contingent establishment and non-provincialised work-charged establishment.

Other important recommendations of the State Pay Commission accepted by the Government of Madras are : (1) the grant, to the non-gazetted staff, of one increment



for every three completed years of service in addition to the fixation at the next above stage; (2) annual increments for non-technical gazetted officers (for whom the Commission did not recommend any appreciable increase in salary scales); (3) a proportion of 1:3 between Upper Division and Lower Division posts in each department to increase promotion avenues; (4) implementation of the present rule for permanent retention of temporary posts which have continued for 5 years, with sympathy and a sense of urgency; and (5) replacement of the present Contributory Provident Fund Pension scheme by the liberalised Pension scheme in force for Central Government employees.

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With a view to meeting the threat of a general strike sponsored by the Joint Council of Action of Central Government Employees' Unions and Associations from the midnight of July 11, the President of India promulgated on July 8 the Essential Services Maintenance Ordinance, 1960, authorising the Union Government to ban strikes in any essential service. "Essential Services", as defined in the Ordinance, include the Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones, Railways and other transport, maintenance of aerodromes, operation or repair of aircraft, defence establishments, mints or security press, loading and unloading, movement or storage of goods in ports or any service which the Central Government, being of opinion that strikes therein would prejudicially affect the maintenance of any public utility service or would result in the infliction of grave hardship on the community, may, by notification in the official Gazette, declare to be an essential service for the purposes of the Ordinance. The Ordinance further provides that any person who commences a strike which

is illegal under the Ordinance or goes or remains on, or otherwise takes part in, any such strike, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine which may extend to Rs. 200 or with both. Any person who instigates, or incites other persons to take part in, or otherwise acts in furtherance of, a strike which is illegal and any person who knowingly expends or supplies any money in furtherance or support of a strike, which is illegal under the Ordinance, shall be punishable with imprisonment or a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000, or with both.

The Government of India issued, on July 8, orders banning strikes in the essential services mentioned in the Ordinance and later further extended their scope to services connected with the keeping, storage, movement, issue or distribution of food-stuffs and with the maintenance of electric sub-stations or installations or of water pumps or the supply and distribution of water or of sewage systems and the disposal of sewage.

The strike was partial; many even of those who had first joined the strike returned to work quickly, and it was called off after 5 days.

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The Government of India announced on August 2, 1960, its decisions on the recommendations of the Second Pay Commission which were not covered in the statement made by the Finance Minister in the Lok Sabha on November 13, 1959.

The Government has accepted all the remaining major recommendations of the Pay Commission which have a financial bearing, after reviewing some of their earlier decisions in the light of representations received subsequently. In the light of the

Commission's recommendations concerning the revision and rationalisation of over 500 existing rates or scales of pay into about 140 scales of pay, the Government has finalised pay scales which cover about 75% of the employees, and almost all Class IV and workshop personnel. Rules have been framed for giving effect to the revised pay scales, for fixation of initial pay in the new pay structure, the date of increment and other related matters on the lines recommended by the Commission.

Important among the recommendations accepted is that if during a period of 12 months the consumer price index remains on an average 10 points above 115, the Government should review the position and consider whether an increase in the allowance should be allowed; and if so, at what rate.

The Government has accepted the recommendation for compulsory subscription by Central Government employees to the provident fund but has fixed the rate at 6% instead of 6½% which was proposed by the Commission. For administrative considerations and to avoid hardship to employees in the lower categories, it has been decided that Class IV employees drawing a basic salary of less than Rs. 75 a month may subscribe only Rs. 4 a month, and other Class IV employees Rs. 5.

The Government has also accepted the recommendation that public holidays and weekly offs falling within a period of casual leave should not be counted as part of the casual leave, as also the recommendations of the Commission for introducing schemes of educational assistance similar to those in operation in the Railways, to enable other Central Government employees, whose salary does not exceed Rs. 300, to send their children to boarding schools of their choice when suitable schooling

facilities are not available at the station where they are posted.

Other recommendations of the Commission which have been recently accepted by the Government relate to leave travel concession, medical facilities, house rent allowance, travelling allowance, work-charged staff, temporary employees and the counting of special pay for pension in full if the post to which it is attached is held in a substantive capacity and to the extent of half in all other cases.

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The Government of India further announced on August 4, 1960, its decisions on the recommendations of the Raghuramaiah Committee, which was appointed in November 1959, to consider the application of the Pay Commission's recommendations to combatants and enrolled non-combatants of the Defence Services. The revised emoluments of the combatant trained infantry soldier (with three years' service) will be Rs. 66 p.m., made up of the existing pay of Rs. 30, two-thirds (in place of one half at present) of the previous civilian dearness allowance of Rs. 45 (*i.e.* Rs. 30) and a new dearness allowance of Rs. 6. He will thus receive an increase of Rs. 13½ p.m. The revised rates of pay of other combatants below officer rank will be worked out on their existing basic pay plus two-thirds of the previous civilian dearness allowance appropriate to it. These combatants will also be given, in addition, a new dearness allowance at the rate of Rs. 6 p.m. for those whose pay is less than Rs. 150 p.m. and at the rate of Rs. 13 p.m. in the case of those drawing Rs. 150 or above but below Rs. 300 p.m. (with marginal adjustments for those drawing Rs. 300 or above but up to Rs. 313). Non-combatants (enrolled)



will be, now, on a revised pay scale of Rs. 47-1-62 *plus* a dearness allowance of Rs. 6 p.m., in place of the present scale of Rs. 20- $\frac{1}{2}$ -25 *plus* half civilian dearness allowance (i.e., Rs. 22.50).

Combatants below officer rank and non-combatants (enrolled) will receive city compensatory allowance and bad climate allowance at two-thirds of the rates admissible to civilians instead of at half the rates as at present. Defence Services personnel, like civilian Government servants, will also be required to subscribe to the Provident Fund and the existing deferred pay scheme for personnel below J.C.O. rank will be discontinued. The number of public holidays will be reduced to 16 in a year, as in the case of civilian Government servants. When the total period of qualifying service exceeds completed years by six months or more, an additional benefit of half a year's pension will be allowed for the purpose of determining the quantum of pension.

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The Seventh Evaluation Report of the Programme Evaluation Organisation of the Planning Commission, released on June 11, reveals that there are "lights and shades in the picture of the community development programme in actual operation. The shades, however, predominate and one gathers the impression of an inadequately co-ordinated endeavour, governmental rather than popular in character, and sustained more by hope than achievement". The Report contains an evaluation of the 1958-59 Rabi Corp Campaign in selected States, case studies of successful panchayats and co-operatives and an analysis of some aspects of rural unemployment. The Report concludes that, on the whole, the general level of achievement is still low and

far from adequate. People's attitudes and reactions in most of the community development blocks are not yet generally favourable to the success and growth of the community development programme.

The above Report of the P.E.O. was discussed at the National Conference on Community Development which met at Srinagar from June 6 to 11. The Conference felt that an attempt should not have been made to evaluate the community development programme, which now extends over 3,000 Blocks, by a study of as few as 18 of them. Nor had the selection of the Blocks been done on any scientific basis and it would be extremely unrealistic to draw any conclusion on the basis of such inadequate and unrepresentative studies. The Conference recommended the setting up by the Government of India of a special committee to examine the adequacy of the P.E.O. to meet the current needs of evaluation of the community development programme.

The Conference further recommended a scheme for the setting up of an institute, in every district, to impart training in community development, panchayats and co-operation. Training will be imparted to Panchas, Sarpanchas and Upsarpanchas; employees of Panchayats and members of the Panchayats or Block Development Committees; Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Secretaries and Members of Managing Committees of co-operative societies; and youth leaders and women workers. While the responsibility for supervising the training programme is to be vested in the Zila Parishad and the District Co-operative Union, the actual training programmes will be organised by non-official institutions. Where a Zila Parishad does not find it possible to locate or select a suitable non-official institution to take up the



responsibility of such a training programme, it may establish its own institute in conjunction with the District Co-operative Union. The Conference also made several suggestions in regard to the planning and co-ordination of village agricultural plans, supply and services, minor irrigation, development of local manurial resources and introduction of improved implements. It was also agreed that the conversion of a Block from pre-Extension to successive stages should be dependent on the enthusiasm and self-reliance shown by the people. The criteria for such tests must vary from State to State and even from area to area within a State.

The Government of Bihar has re-constituted Block Development

Committees to give them a broader membership; in Himachal Pradesh, an Evaluation Committee has been constituted in each of the five districts to assess the progress of the works executed under the community development programme. The Rajasthan State Government has empowered Panchayat Samitis to sanction short-, medium- and long-term loans to individuals, institutions and societies, for purposes like cattle and sheep breeding, poultry farming, sinking of wells, etc. The Government of Mysore has constituted District Development Councils for all the 19 districts of the State as provided for under the Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959, with effect from April 1, 1960.

## (II) ABROAD

The Chancellor of the Exchequer of the U.K. announced in the House of Commons on May 3 salary increases for university teachers with retrospective effect from January 1960 in view of salary increases in comparable professions and the need to retain and recruit staff of adequate calibre. Under the new scales, professors will receive a basic salary of £2,600 a year with provision for supplementation allowance for a range of salaries up to £3,600. Lecturers' scale has been raised from £1,050 to a maximum of £1,850 a year.

*Sir Gilbert Flemming*, lately Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, United Kingdom, has been appointed, chairman of the commission which is being set up by the British Government to enquire into the remuneration and conditions of the Civil Services in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar and the East Africa High Commission.

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In Pakistan, a new system of budgeting and accounting under administrative heads, to regulate expenditure and avoid delay caused by red tape, has been introduced in pursuance of the recommendations of the Administrative Re-organisation Committee. In place of the unified control of the Ministry of Finance the new system provides for financial experts attached to each Ministry. These experts will keep a watch on expenses incurred by the respective Ministries. They will also be competent to make sanctions without prior reference to the Finance Ministry.

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The Government of Turkey has set up an Economic Planning Board, under the presidentship of *Mr. Safik Inan*, Minister of State, to devise a long-term national investment Plan with the advice of two Dutch experts.



## INSTITUTE NEWS

The Government of India has recognised the Master's Diploma in Public Administration awarded by the Indian School of Public Administration as equivalent to a Master's degree in Public Administration of a recognised university for purposes of appointment to services and posts under the Central Government.

The Second Annual Day of the School was celebrated at the Institute's premises on July 15. *Dr. K.L. Shrimali*, Minister of Education, Government of India, presided on the occasion and awarded the certificates of Master's Diploma in Public Administration to 17 successful candidates. The third, *i.e.* 1960-61, session of the Diploma Course commenced on July 15. Seven students have been admitted to the First Year Class and 48 to the Second Year. The latter include 7 who have been promoted from First Year, 10 officers on deputation from the State Governments of Andhra Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal. There are also three officers on leave from the Government of India.

The Indian Delegation to the I.I.A.S. Colloquium, held at San Remo (Italy) from June 22 to 25,

consisted of : (1) *Prof. V.K.N. Menon*, Director of the Institute; (2) *Shri Indarjit Singh*, I.A. & A.S., Director, O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, and Joint Secretary, Special Re-organisation Unit, Ministry of Finance; and (3) *Shri S.K. Guha*, I.A.S., First Secretary (Commercial), Embassy of India, Rome. Both *Shri Indarjit Singh* and *Shri S.K. Guha* were on deputation to the Colloquium from the Government of India as members of the Indian Delegation. The agenda of the Colloquium was : (1) Technical Assistance in Public Administration : Lessons of Experience and Possible Improvements; (2) Public Relations in Administration : Official Publications; (3) Government Organisation for Long-Term Economic Development. The Director had been appointed by the International Institute as the Reporter for the first subject, and as such had prepared for circulation before the Colloquium the relevant questionnaire.

A Local Branch of the Institute in Shillong was inaugurated on April 26, 1960, by *Shri B.P. Chaliha*, the State Chief Minister. This brings the total number of Local Branches to six. The number of Regional Branches is seven.



## DIGEST OF REPORTS

*INDIA, THIRD FIVE YEAR PLAN—A Draft Outline*, Planning Commission, Government of India, June 1960, v, 265p.

The Outline of the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66), released by the Planning Commission on July 6, 1960, describes the aims of the Third Plan as securing of a rise in national income of over 5 per cent per annum (from about 14 per cent at the end of the Second Plan to about 20 per cent), self-sufficiency in foodgrains and increase in agricultural production to meet the requirements of industry and export, expansion of basic industries like steel, fuel and power and establishment of machine-building capacity, a substantial expansion in employment opportunities, reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and more even distribution of economic power. For achieving these objects, the Outline envisages a total investment of Rs. 10,200 crores (public sector Rs. 6,200 crores, private sector Rs. 4,000 crores). Additional employment likely to be created will be of the order of 3.5 million in agriculture and about 10.5 million outside agriculture. Deficit financing is proposed to be limited to Rs. 550 crores in the Third Plan as against Rs. 1,175 crores in the Second.

The Outline of the Third Five Year Plan mentions that among the most important conditions to be fulfilled for the country to sustain a large plan of economic and social development are the securing of high standard in administration, ensuring that the public enterprises are carried out efficiently and yield the maximum results feasible, keeping the construction programmes and costs to the minimum and securing the fullest public co-operation in

different fields of national development. It further adds that, with increase in the tempo of development activities and in the functions of Government, the need for securing efficiency and speed in execution and the problem of widespread confidence in the integrity of the administration at all points affecting the general public have assumed greater urgency. Special attention needs to be given to certain factors which tend to slow down the pace of execution.

The following are the more important recommendations which have been made in the Outline to deal with the administrative problems of the Third Plan :

(a) *Administrative Efficiency*

(1) The principal objectives to be realised in public administration are :

- (i) formulation of policies in clear-cut terms by Government and ensuring continuity in giving effect to them;
- (ii) clear assignment of responsibility for implementation with full appreciation of the objectives to be achieved at every level including Minister, Secretary and Head of Department;
- (iii) ensuring everyday efficiency with speed and prompt disposal, including (a) proper training of personnel, (b) simplification of procedures, and (c) effective supervision of work at each level;



- (iv) ensuring in respect of important construction projects that the best results accrue for the expenditure incurred and there is integrity and economy at all points; and
- (v) ensuring right public relations and co-operation from and with the public, including due courtesies and consideration for all citizens.

(2) In the present functioning of the administrative system there are certain factors which tend to slow down the pace of execution. To these special attention needs to be given. Thus, there should be much greater emphasis on fixing specific individual responsibility for producing results within agreed time-schedules and in accordance with approved policies and programmes. Certain administrative practices have on the whole inhibited the exercise of such responsibility. For instance, secretariat departments have tended to assume responsibility for an increasing amount of original work. Their primary concern should be with matters of policy, supervision of administration and enforcement of standards. Except for marginal cases, executive tasks should be left to be carried out by departments or other authorities designated for the purpose. It is essential that executive departments, corporations and government companies should be strengthened and enabled to function more effectively on their own responsibility. In the second place, within the field assigned to a public servant by law or by rule or by executive order, there should be no interference with his decisions. Where an officer fails to discharge his duties satisfactorily, suitable action may be taken. To meet cases in which intervention by Government or by higher authority is felt to be in the interest of administration the law or rules or executive instructions under

which the powers are delegated should be amended. In the third place, inter-departmental conferences, consultations and references before action can be commenced should be drastically reduced as these tend to diffuse responsibility and reduce initiative on the part of responsible agencies.

(3) The business of government has expanded greatly and on account of pressure at the higher levels sufficient guidance is not always available to the middle grade personnel in each department. It is of the greatest importance that by giving special attention to their training these grades of personnel should be built up, so that they are able to carry an increasing share of responsibility for day-to-day administration.

(4) If the larger objectives of administration are to be achieved, as was stressed in the First Plan, there is need within the administration itself for continuing leadership in securing steady improvement in administrative efficiency and standards. This leadership must come largely from the higher ranks of the public services. A proposal seeking to give effect to this idea is at present under consideration at the Centre. In the State the object could be secured if a group of senior officials, including the Chief Secretary, were required to function as a Committee on Administration which reports to the Chief Minister and the State Cabinet and is charged with continuing responsibility for proposing measures for improvement in the standards of administration and for reviewing the action taken by various departments.

- (5) (i) Success in carrying out programmes of rural development turns very largely on the efficiency and integrity of the administration at the district,

block and village levels. It will be essential to ensure that during the Third Plan panchayat samitis in the blocks place their main emphasis on increase in agricultural production rather than on programmes for providing amenities and that they function effectively as agencies for fulfilling the Plan in their respective areas. Subject to advice and considerations of overall priority the ultimate responsibility for development work in the block should be that of the block panchayat samiti and this aim should be progressively pursued.

- (ii) The responsibility of the district administration at all levels for making supplies and services available at the right time according to the accepted programmes and for preventing loss due to waste or misapplication of funds should be emphasised and nothing should be done to blur this chain of responsibility.
- (iii) As a rule, a village level worker should be able to serve effectively 1,000 to 1,200 families. Village level workers and other extension personnel should remain in their areas for long periods and efforts should be made to assure to extension staffs their due emoluments and promotions without having to change their jobs or move to other areas.

(iv) Panchayat samitis and panchayats should give special attention to measures for raising the level of living of the less privileged sections to the level of other sections in the community.

(v) Co-operatives should be organised on the basis of the village community as the primary unit. Where villages are too small, with the consent of all the communities concerned, a number of them covering a population of about 1,000 should be grouped together for the purpose of forming a village co-operative society. There should be flexibility in determining the size of the population to be served by a village society, but care should be taken to ensure the essential characteristics of a co-operative society, namely, voluntary basis, close contact, social cohesion, and mutual obligation.

(6) Systematic work studies and an attitude of experiment can make a valuable contribution to the raising of the levels of administrative efficiency.

#### (b) Public Enterprises

(1) The management of public enterprises should have sufficient freedom of action and should be able to function in their operations with considerable speed. There should be adequate delegation of administrative and other powers from the Government to the Boards of enterprises, from the Boards to the General Manager, and at different levels within the management itself.

(2) There is need for systematic audit of physical performance in all public enterprises, both in the construction stage and subsequently. In the construction phase, it is specially necessary to ensure that the physical assets created are commensurate with the original estimates and designs. For this purpose there should be independent units which would carry out test checks of performance in a limited number of cases. As a rule, these units might exist within the projects themselves, so that they could assist the responsible authorities in enforcing efficiency, economy and integrity at every point. All public sector undertakings should give special attention to the development of suitable tests or indicators of efficiency and productivity and should improve upon them progressively.

*(c) Reduction of Construction Costs*

(1) (i) The plans of States and of the Central Ministries should be accompanied by a careful appreciation of their total construction programme and the requirements of materials.

(ii) When a development programme or project comes up for general approval the construction element should also be fully considered.

(iii) The building projects which are approved should be executed at minimum cost consistent with functional needs, and, to the extent possible, temporary or semi-permanent construction should be resorted to.

(2) Large economies are possible through standardisation, adoption of improved techniques and control or elimination of items which do

not result in useful additions to the building. Type designs suited to the conditions of different States should be evolved, and cost data in respect of these and other categories of buildings should be carefully analysed and the main cost components should be reviewed at suitable intervals.

(3) Excessive dependence on contractors should be avoided by organising work departmentally in areas where contractors are not available or tend to quote very high rates, payment to departmental labour being made on the basis of outturn of work. Labour co-operatives and voluntary construction agencies which are equipped for construction work should be encouraged.

(4) There is need for reviewing the working of various public works organisations, so that they are suitably equipped to carry out construction programmes under the Third Plan more efficiently and with greater economy and speed than at present.

(5) There should be inter-departmental committees, both in States and at the Centre, to watch the progress made in achieving economies in construction costs.

*(d) Public Co-operation*

(1) The participation of voluntary bodies which are equipped for construction work can make for economy and provide satisfaction to workers, besides augmenting resources for providing local amenities.

(2) It should be the common purpose of official agencies, local self-governing bodies, voluntary organisations, educational institutions, trade unions and professional and other associations, to identify the main needs of each local community and find fields of common endeavour, thus enabling the people of each area to achieve greater cohesion and a common social outlook.



(3) Pilot schemes and research studies should be undertaken with a view to evolving and demonstrating

methods of enlarging public co-operation in development programmes.

*ESTIMATES COMMITTEE, 1959-60, 92nd REPORT (GROWTH OF CIVIL NON-PLAN EXPENDITURE)*, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, v, 58p., 90 nP.

The Estimates Committee took up for examination the growth of civil non-Plan expenditure on a reference made to it by the Speaker of the Lok Sabha for consideration of the points raised by Shri A.C. Guha, M.P., in a letter to him regarding the findings in the Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan issued by the Planning Commission in May 1958. The important conclusions and recommendations made by the Estimates Committee are as follows :

*(I) Growth of Non-Plan Expenditure*

(1) In the context of a planned economy with emphasis on dynamism in the development of the country, too wide a variation in the estimates of resources available for furthering the nation-building activities should not be permitted by allowing too free a play for administrative and other non-Plan expenditure to mount up lest the Plan programme is retarded. It would be most desirable for the Planning Commission to have a special study made of the disproportionate rise and make suitable suggestions to see that such expenditure is kept under control and will not expand in the Third Plan as it has done during the Second Plan period.

(2) It is a matter for consideration whether there should be such a wide divergence between the estimates and the actual expenditure and whether there should not be a realistic breaking down of the dimensions indicated into specific targets for each Ministry.

(3) It does not appear that there has been an attempt to make a study

of the organisations in other countries with a view to reducing the ratio of costs of administration and to improve its efficiency here. The procedure of administering the taxes in the advanced countries should be studied and adopted with modifications to suit our conditions. Also a conscious effort should be made for rationalisation and simplification of procedures and improvement of existing methods of work. This would not only result in improved efficiency and larger collection but also bring down the percentage cost of collection.

(4) (i) There is no overall picture of administrative expenditure under broadly defined groups of activity. Further, there are no data to assess the growth of administrative expenditure on Plan items, a start having been made for segregating Plan and non-Plan expenditure in the Budget and Accounts from 1959-60 only. Therefore, as a pointer to the general growth of administrative expenditure, one has to rely on the figures of total civil expenditure which is given in the Explanatory Memorandum on the Central Budget every year. (ii) The total administrative expenditure met from Revenue during the five-year period 1956-61 has gone up by Rs. 199 crores as compared to the 1955-56 level, the increases under pay of officers, pay of establishments, allowances and contingencies being Rs. 19.2 crores, Rs. 51.9 crores, Rs. 68 crores and Rs. 60 crores, respectively. (iii) In order to have an overall assessment of administrative expenditure in broadly defined fields of activity,

it would be desirable if the total administrative expenditure is classified under broad heads such as administrative services, tax collection, developmental and social services separately under Plan and non-Plan heads and included in the Explanatory Memorandum on the Central Budget. (iv) Intensified efforts are required on the part of all Ministries for checking the growth of administrative expenditure. Increase in work on account of expansion of activities, Plan or non-Plan, should be largely met through a rational husbanding from the existing strength with the minimum possible expansion of establishment.

### (II) Growth of Personnel

(1) An analysis of the staff strength of civilians employed under the Central Government, as furnished by the Ministry of Home Affairs, showed that during the period 1957-59 : (i) there had been a steep rise under 'administrative and executive' by more than 50% (the rise during the years 1955-1959 was 60%); (ii) under 'clerical' the rise was even more marked—by more than 78%; and (iii) the strength in the 'unskilled' group fell from 2,49,544 in 1951 to 2,45,714 in 1959.

(2) An analysis of the phenomenal growth in 'administrative and executive' personnel may be very revealing and necessary to regulate future expansion.

(3) The increase in the strength of Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries and Under Secretaries from 1947 to 1956 has been unduly high.

Title	Number of Posts	
	1947	1956
Secretary	37	46
Joint Secretary	79	142
Deputy Secretary	210	472
Under Secretary	463	1006

(4) Though the bulk of the work

of Ministries of External Affairs, Food and Agriculture (Department of Food), Finance, Home Affairs and Law is not directly connected with the Plan, there has been a significant rise in the number of posts in each Ministry during the Second Plan period; this increase is concentrated during the period 1955 to 1957. It is a matter for review whether the growth of staff has been commensurate with the increased activities and whether efforts were made to find out personnel from the existing strength. As recommended earlier in para 46 of the 55th Report of the Estimates Committee, scale of work should be laid down for each job on scientific and business principles and the staff strength should be fixed in the light of such standards. There is also the need for properly directed periodical reviews by each Ministry of their standing charges as well as the continuing services.

### (III) Economy Measures

(1) As regards the one-year ban imposed on all fresh recruitment a report may be presented to Parliament next year before the presentation of the budget showing the extent of operation of the ban with reference to the relative personnel strength at the end of 1959 and 1960, and also indicating the specific Plan activities of individual Ministries and the actual increase in staff strength which had to be resorted to on that account. A record about the total number of posts abolished in each Ministry every year may be given in the annual report of the O & M Division.

(2) It is also a matter for study whether the reduction of surplus staff has not actually resulted in more efficiency. Such a process of economy will inevitably lead to rationalisation of procedures and methods of work.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS*; By ROBERT H. ROY, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958, xi, 236p., \$5.00.

The enlarged scope and the changed nature of public administration today demand answers to certain questions of great moment. What are the right principles of departmental organisations? What is the proper relationship between the individual member and his department? What are the problems and methods of delegation of authority? What are the proper methods for resolving conflicts? What should be done to raise and maintain a high level of morale? What are the problems of communication and how can they be solved? What should be done to avoid executive and organisation overload? What basic considerations should guide planners? And so on.

Equality, social justice, individual and communal well-being are the fundamental principles embodied in the concept of a welfare state. These ultimate goals of administration determine the basic approach to the problems posed above. The administrative process, therefore, should be looked upon as a human problem, particularly when the human aspects of administration tend to be more and more ignored as government departments grow larger and larger and the departmental head finds it difficult to keep in intimate touch with the members of his department and relies more on charts and formal rules and regulations than human beings. Successful administration obviously demands co-operation in a high degree among all the members of a department and between the department and other

departments and the members of the community.

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Mr. Roy has written a series of essays based on a range of experience which is relatively narrow experience confined to comparatively small organisations. The author aims to reveal only those attributes of administration which appear to be neglected in practice and to have escaped analysis in the literature so far available on Public Administration. Mr. Roy's forte is diagnosis and analysis but the solutions he has to offer do not reflect the same depth of understanding.

On the question, for instance, of executive and organisation overload, he makes the following observation, "... I do believe that the precepts of 'queuing theory' explain one important cause of executive and organisation overload and indicate the futility of doing more, just because there is more to do. There is only one solution and that is to battle creed and conscience by learning to say 'no'." This is certainly no solution. While a manufacturer may be able to decline to book up to his scheduled capacity, it is almost impossible for a modern government to decline to undertake more and more functions. Perhaps the solution to the problem of overload is always to plan the capacity of the organisation slightly in excess of the current demand. This is the correct lesson to be learnt from the 'queuing theory'. This would cost more



in money but the social cost resulting from overstrain of the personnel would be avoided. Besides, a lighter load of work per head would mean better work.

Again, on the very important question of delegation of authority his analysis would appear to be inadequate. Untrained personnel, fear of subordinates' error and ego, involvement on the part of the superiors are not the only factors which stand in the way of delegation. A system of delegation demands careful definition of the scope and classes of delegated powers of different offices at different levels within a department. The problem, however, does not end there. Various real difficulties arise in several matters. Some powers do not easily lend themselves to clear-cut classification and definition. In some cases the authorities themselves are not quite clear in their mind about the general approach to the question of relationship between those who delegate and those who receive. Sheer inertia is another important obstacle to delegation of authority. Mr. Roy's solution—"to find executives who are inwardly secure, to frame rules broadly and flexibly—and sparingly, and to use subordinates' errors to educate rather than to punish"—does not take us far.

Of all the administrative problems of great importance that planning presents, Mr. Roy focusses attention on one aspect that relates to the general approach to planning, the need for guarding against "too much worship of organisations and of the

god of efficiency, and too little reverence for the creative satisfactions of work and for the individuals who perform it". Here is a Gandhian touch. He also rightly sounds a note of warning against indiscriminate reverence shown for statistics. "Maximise their availability, yes, but do not forget their sometimes inaccuracy, nor let them subjugate those elements of decision which cannot be quantified."

Another important point made in the book is the vital need for realisation on the part of administrators that delay in taking a decision sometimes amounts to taking a positive decision—"no decision at all is equivalent to militant action". Mr. Roy also rightly warns administrators against undue reliance upon logic.

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In short, Mr. Roy, with the help of concrete cases, has discussed those attributes which go towards making a skilful administrator. He does not appear to pay much attention to devices that would result in producing good administrators. An administrator of genius will always find a way to do great things, despite unfavourable circumstances. We scarcely need to trouble about him. What is needed is to devise training programmes for the average administrator.

Altogether the book is a very welcome addition to the literature on public administration, and it should prove particularly useful to young administrators.

A.N. JHA

*BUDGETING IN PUBLIC AUTHORITIES*; By A STUDY GROUP OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1959, 299p.

Budgeting in Public Authorities is the work of a study group constituted by the Royal Institute of Public Administration of the United

Kingdom. The members of this study group were drawn from various public bodies and large commercial organisations, and included a

Chairman of a Gas Board, a senior Finance Officer of the London County Council, a Treasurer of a Royal Hospital Board, a Director-General of Finance of the National Coal Board, a member of the Central Electricity Generating Board, etc. The group was thus composed of men who had personal experience of the practices of the budgeting generally in the U.K. as well as in their respective sphere of activity. The book deals with a difficult and complex subject of great public importance in a strikingly simple and clear manner. It is written for the general public who, it is felt, ought to have an adequate understanding of the subject of budgeting which, it is increasingly being realised, is an important and indispensable instrument of sound administration of any large and complex organisation. The book succeeds admirably in its object.

It is no exaggeration to say that the more competently budgets are prepared by public bodies, be they governments, local authorities, national industries, hospital managements or public utility undertakings, the more satisfactory will their administrations be; and the greater the use made of the budgets, once they are prepared competently, the more will it be possible for those in charge of such organisations, whether big or small, to be alive to all worthwhile issues affecting their work.

For us in this country a book of this kind is of particular value. Not many of our public men, whose business it ought to be to study budgets and make use of them for criticising administration, have any very clear understanding of what budgeting should aim at, what is practicable for those in charge of different types of public bodies to do and what, therefore, ought to be criticised and what should evoke their

sympathy. Public administration must not necessarily be presumed to be unresponsive to criticism or indifferent to it, merely because it happens not to be efficient. Through a proper understanding of the use to which budgets ought to be put, we should be able to make our criticism much better informed and thereby compel greater wide-awakeness among administrations.

The practices adopted in regard to budgeting by different categories of public authorities have been set out in this work authoritatively and the comparison carried out is both interesting and instructive. The point that this detailed examination brings out is that the essential character of budgeting is everywhere the same. "It consists in setting up statements of future expectations, couched mainly in financial terms, for each part of an organisation, and combining these into an integrated master budget for the whole undertaking." The nature and size and statutory requirements of different organisations inevitably affect the time taken to prepare the budget, the standard of scrutiny to which estimates have to be subjected, and the form of their presentation. But, in spite of these differences, the budget performs the same basic function in respect of each organisation, namely, it helps in the making and reviewing of policy, in forward-looking planning, in laying down criteria of evaluating results achieved against expectations, and, in short, of providing reliable data for determining appropriate future courses of action.

In the final chapter, the study group attempts a summing up, and this is therefore perhaps the most valuable part of the book. In the light of their survey of existing budgetary practices of various types of organisations, big and small,

from those of the Government of the U.K., of its commercial departments, such as the Post Office, down to those of the much humble local authorities or of even parts of them such as hospital managements, valuable suggestions of general usefulness are made to make the budget serve its several potential purposes. Even so, the basic advice is that no budgetary system should ever be allowed to become so elaborate that the cost of operating it is out of all proportion to the benefits likely to result. One must resist the temptation to seek excessive precision. The budget, similarly, must not be allowed to take so long to prepare that the estimates are settled too early to be realistic by the time it comes into operation. If waste and inefficiency in the budgetary system itself is to be avoided, the forms and procedures of budgeting must be subjected to constant and regular review. Anything which serves no useful purpose or any information which is not used should be scrapped ruthlessly

and without hesitation. There are many apparently useful purposes which budgeting could be made to serve but unless one is careful, one may easily come to regard the budgetary system almost as an end in itself. The ultimate test must be whether it enables the organisation in question to do its job better than it could without it. That is why budgets must be designed, and adapted, to suit the needs of those whom it is intended to serve. Budgets can then be made progressively to furnish more and varied information so as to enable the authorities concerned, including Governments, to perform their tasks with better and increasing efficiency.

Altogether a valuable book for an intelligent citizen who is interested in problems of administration and who is desirous of playing the very necessary role in a democracy of a disinterested critic.

H.M. PATEL

*THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION*; By SIR GILMOUR JENKINS, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1959, 231p., 21s.

Sir Gilmour Jenkins in his most interesting study of the working of a Government Ministry in the U.K. has had to cover a wide variety of topics and his observations on important subjects such as Shipping and Air Policy, Road and Rail Competition, the problems of Accountability of the Nationalised Industries, the development of Roads and Aerodromes in England, are of absorbing interest not only to the specialist in Transport but also to the student of Public Administration. Sir Gilmour writes with great experience of transport problems. His service as Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Transport (1947-1953) and now Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation, gives him an outstanding record of

no less than 13 years of experience as a permanent head of this important Department of the United Kingdom Government. The work is, therefore, of great merit and even a cursory glance convinces one that it is the product of a Master, being not only descriptive but instructive as well. The description of the organisational set-up of the Ministry is cleverly interwoven with statements of policy giving reasons for its evolution and tracing its historical development.

Sir Gilmour Jenkins is perhaps at his best when he describes at length how the shipping and trade interests are jealously safeguarded by the U.K. Government. The case is presented in one sentence which could not be more effective "—the United Kingdom treats foreign vessels



as favourably as its own in British ports and waters and tries to secure the same freedom and rights for British shipping abroad". Sir Gilmour tells us that in pursuit of this policy those foreign Governments who have developed shipping not by establishing traditions of reliability and efficiency but by the short-cut method of Government subsidy and Government preference are open to sharp criticism. His main argument is "if policies of protection and financial assistance are used to develop national shipping, they are likely to defeat their own object by introducing rigidity and unnecessary cost into the exchange of goods and services between nations and to lead to unfortunate results for the country adopting them as well as for the maritime nations that provide world-wide shipping services in fair competition".

There may be logic behind the above contention, but it fails to appreciate the viewpoint of the underdeveloped maritime countries which are struggling to establish their own national shipping for the first time in their history. The underdeveloped countries have to begin from scratch whether in industry or in shipping and they cannot be expected to compete on equal terms with maritime countries well established in industry and commerce having had a start of over 100 years during which period there was little or no competition. It will be appreciated that, if the argument of Sir Gilmour is accepted, a newly born maritime State would have no chance of ever building, let alone expanding, a merchant marine which every State could claim to do in the exercise of its inherent right as a Sovereign. Again, on the same analogy, if the argument of Sir Gilmour was applied to the industrial field, agricultural countries could never industrialise. Apart from the sentiment attached

to flying the National Flag, there is also the defence aspect. In an emergency a nation may well have to depend on its own maritime resources. A prudent State cannot, therefore, be denied the right to build up its maritime fleet in peace time particularly when there can be no question of stock-piling of ships. It is, therefore, not without significance that even the Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation Convention which is accepted by Sir Gilmour to be the corner-stone of the British shipping policy concedes in the following terms the right of a State to develop its own national fleet :

"Assistance and encouragement given by a Government for the development of its national shipping and for purposes of security does not in itself constitute discrimination, provided that such assistance and encouragement is not based on measures designed to restrict the freedom of shipping of all flags to take part in international trade."

As long as a budding maritime State does not restrict the freedom of ships of all flags to take part in international trade it cannot be said to discriminate if it gives subsidy for the development of national shipping. Many of the great maritime powers, not excluding the U.K., have in the past given, or even now give, Government assistance to national shipping in some form or the other. Sir Gilmour would have presented a strong case if he had not forgotten to mention this aspect also.

While denying Government assistance to the nascent shipping industry of an underdeveloped country, Sir Gilmour gives no solution to the right of the underdeveloped State to have a merchant marine of its own. There may be a method by which a

merchant marine could be built up without encroaching on the rights of others. A way out of this difficulty in a world abounding with under-developed countries was indeed expected.

Though the shipping policy as well as the chapters on shipping operations and Marine Safety presents a fascinating reading, the chapters on Air Policy are of the same high standard. While shipping flourishes in the private sector, Sir Gilmour has no hesitation in admitting that in regard to both domestic and international air services, most Governments have intervened to produce the orderliness necessary for the development of a safe and efficient industry, to secure the provision of essential services, even if some of them are not economic, or to ensure that internal air transport played the right part in civil aviation policy generally. He also deals in his own effective style with the problem of the relationship of the Minister and the public-owned Corporations which impose upon the former special responsibilities to Parliament and to the nation. All aspects of

Civil Aviation are touched upon, such as Commonwealth and Colonial Civil Aviation and even private flying finds a place. The problem of aerodromes occupies a whole chapter and receives a thorough treatment which is again most interesting to read.

The problem of road-rail competition, ports and inland waterways, are all covered in a thorough fashion and even lighthouses in the Indian Ocean have forced a mention.

Sir Gilmour has not confined himself to merely describing the present set-up since one whole chapter is devoted to future possibilities and his reflections in this connection make stimulating reading. On the whole the book is an acquisition to any Library and it is a 'must' for all students of political organisation and constitutional practice. It is at once both academic and practical and can even be used as a reference book by those who wish to know and profit from the U.K. pattern and practice based upon the experience of centuries.

NAGENDRA SINGH

**FOOD ADMINISTRATION IN EAST INDIA ; 1939-54;** By DEBIDAS RAY, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, Agro-Economic Research Centre, 1958, ix, 174p., Rs. 5.

One of the *ad hoc* projects which the Agro-Economic Research Centres have undertaken at the instance of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture is the study of food administration in India during the period of the War and after. The Agro-Economic Research Centre at Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, undertook the study in relation to East India, comprising the States of Assam, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. Covering the period 1939-40 to 1953-54, the study deals with the policies adopted, programmes formulated and measures actually enforced for

the procurement and distribution of foodgrains in these States. There has been an earlier publication by the Stanford University, California, entitled "Food Administration in India 1939-1947" by Sir Henry Knight. While this work concentrates mainly on the administrative measures of the Government of India, the publication of the Agro-Economic Research Centre, Santiniketan, deals not only with the problems of food administration but also with its impact on the rural economy of the region.

Part I of the study deals with the

evolution and assessment of food administration in East India during the period 1939-1954. The food control measures adopted before 1943 were largely improvisations to meet the rapidly deteriorating food situation; it was only in 1943 after a major crisis had overtaken the Eastern States by the cutting off of supplies from Burma and by the breakdown of the normal channels of trade, that a comprehensive food policy was formulated and put into effect. This was done as a result of the recommendations of the Foodgrains Policy Committee (1943). Rationing and procurement constituted the main planks of the system recommended by the Committee. The implementation of the main recommendations of the Foodgrains Policy Committee along with the successively two good harvests of 1943-44 and 1944-45 eased the food situation in the Eastern States. The end of War was followed not by a relaxation but by an intensification of controls and their extension to wider areas. Relaxation in controls apart from the brief interlude of decontrol in 1947-48 began from 1952 and by 1954 all restrictions on the movement of rice and paddy and their products were withdrawn along with the rationing of rice and all controls on production, prices and distribution of foodgrains ceased to operate from that date. The sequence of events in each State has been traced, bringing out at the same time the main features of the system of procurement and distribution, the two principal aspects of food control, followed by the States.

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The author has attempted to analyse and evaluate the food administration in East India in the light of the objective of ensuring "justice and fair shares to all, producers and consumers alike". So far as the

consumer is concerned, achievement of the objective depended on making available supplies at reasonable prices. Since controls in actual practice did not extend to more than a part of the total trade in foodgrains, there were during the control period, virtually two different markets functioning simultaneously and the divergence between open market prices and the issue price fixed by the State Governments has been taken as a measure of the extent of 'fairness' to consumers. It has been pointed out that open market prices in all the four States of East India ruled to a greater or lesser extent higher than the issue prices fixed by the respective State Governments during the period following decontrol in 1948. The Government of Orissa appears to have been more successful in fulfilling the objective of ensuring fairness to the consumer since the gap between open market prices and issue prices was the narrowest in this State; but then the shortage was also the least in the State. The extent to which the interest of the producer has been safeguarded has been examined by reference to the level of procurement prices fixed in each State.

A comparison has also been made between the relation between harvest prices and the general level of prices (wholesale) before the War and the relationship between procurement prices and the general level of prices during the control period. The extent of fairness of procurement prices has been judged in relation to the pre-war parity between the harvest prices and the general level of prices. The procurement prices were fixed in all the four States of East India in 1944-45 at a level which was above parity with the general level of wholesale prices; these prices except for a slight upward revision in Orissa and a downward revision in West Bengal in 1945-46 continued till November 1947. With decontrol



towards the end of 1947, procurement prices were substantially increased. But since the open market prices were considerably higher than the procurement prices, the producer, it is pointed out, naturally felt aggrieved and as a result showed a strong tendency to evade procurement. The author comes to the conclusion that during the first phase of the control period, the level of procurement prices in the States of East India could not be regarded as having been unfair to the producer except in Bihar; during the second phase which began with the decontrol towards the end of 1947, although there was a substantial increase in procurement prices, they failed to move in parity with the rise in the general level of prices in Bihar and West Bengal. The extent of rise in agricultural wages for the main farming operations has also been cited to show that the level of procurement prices in the four States of East India was not high enough to ensure a fair deal to the producer at least during the period 1948 to 1951.

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Part II of the study deals with the effects of food administration on the rural economy. This is analysed in terms of changes in the cropping pattern and changes in production, marketable surplus and rural consumption. So far as cropping pattern is concerned, the analysis shows that during the period of control, that is to say from the beginning of the War up to the end of Korean boom, there was no major shift in cultivation from rice to other substitutable crops or *vice versa*. The only exception has been with respect to jute in West Bengal where during the periods 1940-41 and after Partition, there was some shift of acreage from rice. As regards the effect on production, it is pointed out that during the period 1936-37 to 1950-51 there was no

noticeable change in the trend of production of rice in Bihar and Orissa; in West Bengal also it continued to be on the pre-war level up to 1947-48 after which a small increasing tendency was noticeable. In Assam, on the other hand, production showed a rising tendency up to 1949-50 after which there was a sharp fall; production recovered in 1952-53 but did not reach the 1949-50 level. The production of rice, however, did not keep pace with the rise in population during the decade 1941-51 with the result that the marketable surplus of rice showed a decline. The increase in rural population must have played a part in increasing the retention of food-grains in the village. Reviewing the available data on income distribution as between different classes of rural people, the author finds that, except perhaps in Orissa, there was no material change in the per capita consumption of cereals in the rural areas of East India. Nor is there any evidence of a shift in demand from inferior grains to rice because the prices of rice ruled high both absolutely and also relatively to the prices of other grains. However, the liberal ration quota allowed to mining labour in Bihar and the tea gardens in Assam, it is pointed out, might perhaps have played some part in bringing about a change in the consumption pattern of the people concerned.

Some attention has also been paid to the effect of control on distribution and marketing. To some extent the Government replaced the private trade and assumed direct responsibility in the field of marketing and distribution. More quantities came also to be purchased by the mills and machine milling claimed a relatively larger share of the marketed surplus.

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The study of the food administration in East India has highlighted the fact that in the absence of complete control and regulation under which there will be no private trade in foodgrains and the entire marketable surplus will be acquired and distributed by the Government, there is bound to exist a disparity between open market prices and control prices, the extent of the disparity depending on the degree of control

over supply and distribution. But the more rigorous the controls become, the more is their disincentive effect on production and marketed surplus. Possibly a *via media* which seeks to combine strategic control with incentives to production may better serve the objective of food administration, namely, ensuring adequate quantities of foodgrains at reasonable prices.

R.N. PODUVAL

*THE CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1773-1834*; By B.B. MISRA, Manchester, University of Manchester Press, 1959, xii, 476 p., 45s.

In this study Dr. B.B. Misra traces the process of the building up of the Government of India during its most formative years. Basing his account on the records available at the India Office Library and the British Museum, Dr. Misra has given a comprehensive account of the creation of the machinery of the East India Company's government in India and its underlying principles. The book is concerned mainly with institutional development.

Dr. Misra brings out the extent to which the Central Government of India under the Company was an innovation, and a fundamental departure from the Mughal system which it replaced. The Company established a 'government of record, which restricted rashness of conduct and hasty measures of administration' and subjected the executive to the rule of law and which was dominated by the civilian element in sharp contrast with the Mughal government based upon the army and on personal discretion. It is Dr. Misra's thesis that the Company was far from "reactionary" as is often alleged, but was an "active reforming body truly representative of the contemporary age in England". Utilitarianism which ushered in an

era of political and legal reforms of a far-reaching character in England, was reflected in the policies of the East India Company towards India which sought to reconcile the welfare of the governed with the interests of the rulers.

Dr. Misra regards the achievement of the East India Company in building up machinery of the Central Government as remarkable. It was many-sided. To take a single example, one can study the way in which the Civil Service was created. Both its forms and character were developed under the Company's rule between 1772-1785. The ending of corruption and the abuses of patronage and the assurance of a regular flow of ability and talent, honesty and uprightness were a concern of the Court of Directors of the Company from almost the beginning. Its patronage was exercised so as not to affect the efficiency or honesty of the service. The Court perceived the need for training the service as is seen from the setting up of the East India College at Haileybury where the young men nominated to the service underwent a rigorous course of training in oriental and western studies. Open competition for entrance to the service was suggested as early as



1813 and the Court adopted limited competition in 1833. Recruitment by open competition came in 1854, earlier than in the Home Civil Service.

Dr. Misra's study deals successively with the Supreme Government, the Central Secretariat (including the machinery of inspection and audit), the administration of revenue, the settlement and collection of revenue, civil justice, criminal justice and the police, the civil service, and with postal communications. The one omission is the army, the study of which is important to students of Indian administration. The subjects covered have been dealt with in sufficient detail to enable one to get a clear and coherent picture of the emergence of the Indian administrative system. In every part of the administrative machine, as it was being evolved and in the manner of its operation, there was

an admixture of the old and the new, of native and foreign elements.

The study enables one to realise the extent to which the present is rooted in the past and the difficulties to be faced in transplanting ideas and institutions from a different political and social climate. That the East India Company was able to create a workable machinery of Government which has stood the test of time is a measure of its achievement.

Every student of Indian administration is indebted to Dr. Misra for a historical study which is an invaluable aid to the understanding of the subject. It takes its place besides such standard works as Sir William Kaye's *The Administration of the East India Company*, Aspinall's *Cornwallis in Bengal* and Chesney's *Indian Polity*.

N. SRINIVASAN

*THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION*; By C. WRIGHT MILLS, New York, Oxford University Press, 1959, 234p., 36s.

The present work by Wright Mills, the well-known writer in Sociology, is an admirable attempt at an overall survey of the field of social sciences. He refers to their aspirations, describes their achievements and limitations. With the rapid growth of science and technology, problems of social life and social organisation have become complex in character and world-wide in scope. Under these circumstances, much is expected from social sciences by way of solutions to the complex social problems. The question Wright Mills raises is as to how far have the social sciences offered and can the social sciences offer solutions to these problems? It is in this context that he observes that "sociological imagination (is) our most needed quality of mind". According to him, "the sociological

imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relation between the two within society. That is its task and its promise". He uses the term sociological imagination to mean "a quality of mind that will help to use information and to develop reason in order to achieve lucid summations of what is going on in the world and of what may be happening within themselves" (p. 5). He explains it further (on p. 15) as follows: "It is a quality of mind that seems most dramatically to promise an understanding of the intimate realities of ourselves in connection with larger social realities. It is not merely one quality of mind among the contemporary range of cultural sensibilities—it is the quality whose wider and more adroit use offers the promise that all such sensibilities—and in fact,



human reason itself—will come to play a greater role in human affairs.”

The book contains 10 chapters with titles ranging from “The Promise” to “Politics”. The other chapters are entitled Grand Theory, Abstracted Empiricism and Types of Practicality. These chapters deal with the pitfalls of speculative theory divorced from facts or realities and “research shops” concentrating upon collection of empirical data without a deep foundation in theory (pp. 66-67). In the chapter on the Philosophies of Science he emphasizes that the purpose both of Method and Theory in Social Sciences is “clarity of conception and economy of procedure and the release rather than the restriction of sociological imagination.” He poses the problem of Social Sciences in the Great Society as: “How to get down to facts yet not get overwhelmed by them; how to anchor ideas to facts but not to sink the ideas” (p. 125). In three other chapters he discusses The Human Variety, Uses of History and Reason and Freedom. It is needless to say that these discussions are important to those engaged in public administration.

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Chapter Five entitled “Bureaucratic Ethos” is of particular interest to the readers of the journal of Public Administration. In this chapter Wright Mills asserts that “During the last quarter of a century there has been a decisive shift in the administrative uses and political meanings of social science”. He is of the view that “the older liberal practicality of social problems still goes on but it has been overshadowed by newer conservative uses of a “managerial and manipulative sort”. He quotes with approval the warning of Paul Lazarsfeld: “Empirical Social research has a history of three or four decades. If we expect from it quick solutions

to the world’s greatest problems, if we demand of it nothing but immediately practical results, we will just corrupt its natural course.” He describes that the combination of “abstracted empiricism” and its bureaucratic use have resulted in the development of a bureaucratic social science (p. 101). He develops the viewpoint that the “formalism of these costly techniques makes them especially serviceable in providing the very kind of information needed by those capable and willing to pay for it”. Under these circumstances he regrets the possibility of loss of autonomy for the individual social scientists. Further, “in so far as social science consists of bureaucratic work, it tends to lose its social and political autonomy”. He also refers to “academic cliques”, “personalities” and “schools” regulating or setting the terms or assigning rewards in the field of research competition (p. 107). He also refers to the “deplorable state of confusion” arising out of the concept of “human engineering”, “mastery of society” and “making the social studies into real sciences”. He states that “these technocratic slogans are a substitute for a political philosophy among many of the Scientists . . .”. In answer to the question what is the propaganda force of bureaucratic social science, his answer is that it is “due to its philosophical claims to Scientific Method”. He further says: “much of its power to recruit is due to the relative ease of training individuals and setting them to work in a career with a future”.

The author concludes the chapter on Bureaucratic Ethos by pointing out that “The bureaucratization of social study is a quite general trend” (p. 117). The consoling factor for this trend, however, is that “perhaps, in due course, it is likely to come about in any society in which bureaucratic routines are becoming

paramount". He concludes the chapter by referring to the "grievous threat to the intellectual promise of social science and as well to the political promise of the role of reason in human affairs, when abstracted empiricism and grand theory "come to enjoy an intellectual 'duopoly' or even become the predominant styles of work".

The Appendix containing a chapter on "Intellectual Craftsmanship" is a stimulating narration of the experiences of a well-known writer in sociology and is useful for workers in the field of social sciences.

While the book describes and deplores certain trends and tendencies in the social sciences of our times the problem still remains, namely, how to promote objectivity and preserve autonomy in social sciences and for researchers in social sciences.

While science and technology are making societies complex, social science theory and techniques are finding it difficult to grasp and present the social phenomena without the aid of analogies from physical or natural sciences. Analogies have their limitations and have a tendency to cloud the minds and confuse the issues. A philosophical approach is out of fashion as it deals with normatives rather than positives.

The book contains a very effective presentation of the problems in studying "behavioural sciences" which are largely made use of by business concerns and bureaucracies for immediate uses. It is a useful addition to the literature in social sciences and it deserves to be read and reflected upon by every one in the field of social sciences.

V. JAGANNADHAM



## BOOK NOTES

*THE PUBLIC SERVICE IN NEW STATES*: By KENNETH YOUNGER, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, viii, 113p., 12s. 6d.

The book contains a study of some of the problems facing the public service in new states—the British colonial territories—on the attainment of independence. It deals primarily with Nigeria, where the transfer is actually in progress and the shape of the public service after the attainment of full independence is still uncertain. The course of events in Ghana and in the Federation of Malaya both before and after independence is examined and a brief reference is made to the Sudan. The author examines the effect on the public services of these countries of the approach of self-government and independence, especially as regards the continuance in service of the overseas officers. He also considers what intake of qualified recruits the educational system is immediately capable of providing, and what arrangements are being made for further recruiting overseas and for the receipt of international staff.

The speed of political evolution in almost all dependent territories tends to outstrip the speed at which the systems of education and training of the public service can meet the new demand, so that on the realization of self-government or independence the new government still has to rely upon a considerable number of overseas officials both for routine administration and, even more, for the implementation of new and ambitious development plans. Except Northern Nigeria and Southern Cameroons the immediate need is

for experienced officials to remain for perhaps three or five years until the young, educated but inexperienced local recruits are ready to undertake higher responsibilities; thereafter the demand for overseas officers to carry on the normal administration is likely to fall away rapidly, though there will be a continuing need both for professional and technical personnel and for certain administrative experts, especially in the field of finance.

The author finds that, in the course of the transfer of power, there comes almost inevitably a period of exceptional psychological difficulty: when the new ministers and officials still find it hard to believe that the old service is really going to relax its hold upon the administration, while the overseas staff cannot yet see clearly what the political atmosphere of the new state is going to be. During the first year or so before independence and for some months afterwards, mutual suspicions and anxieties are at their height and serious losses of personnel are apt to result. In almost all cases, where the transfer of power took place in a reasonably friendly atmosphere, the overseas officers initially left at a more rapid rate than the new government would have wished. Where political conditions were difficult, as in the Sudan, the new government did not appreciate until too late the need for positive action on its part to ensure that at least a selected number of key men remained for a time to help the new state. Even where the political atmosphere was favourable, as in Nigeria, it nevertheless proved difficult for the new governments to provide the necessary assurances



for the future to its overseas staff in time to prevent an exodus. In the Sudan, where the total number of British officials fell from 1,200 to 200 within a brief period before independence, while there was no administrative collapse, there was a general drop in efficiency and a real threat to future development which had to be quickly countered by renewed overseas recruiting. A small number of competent Sudanese leaders, especially those in charge of local administration, were able to ensure that no administrative disaster took place. Both in Malaya and in Ghana the consequences of a rapid and large-scale exodus of overseas staff were noticeably less damaging to efficiency than had been predicted. In Ghana and in the self-governing regions of Nigeria there has so far been real difficulty in finding Africans in sufficient numbers.

While the past experience indicates the need for the services of senior officers from overseas, the author suggests that it is not necessary to eliminate them all, in order to have real independence, but only to ensure, as the new government can easily do, that the key posts are in the hands of men of its choice. The problem really arises not only from the need of continuity of governmental activities following the transfer of power but also the need to adapt the administrative machinery to meet the demand for new development. Even if the academic standard is fully maintained for university degrees and other higher qualifications, there has nevertheless to be some planned dilution as regards the requirements for a wide range of jobs and a corresponding adjustment of training.

The author pleads for a scheme to provide a life-long pensionable career overseas for British technical experts; in the alternative he recommends

finding ways of encouraging men, whose careers would basically be pursued at home, to regard periods of overseas service as a normal and advantageous feature of their professional lives. The creation of an agency in Britain, outside the framework of colonial administration, which can give help to dependent and independent areas alike is also suggested. In the field of international assistance, a possible alternative to the world-wide United Nations OPEX system on the one hand or the multiplication of bilateral aid agreements on the other might be a regional system on the lines of the Colombo Plan, which has proved successful and acceptable in South East Asia.

*TRAINING FACILITIES FOR GOVERNMENT SERVANTS IN BOMBAY STATE*; Indian Institute of Public Administration, Bombay Branch, Bombay, 1959, vi, 58p., 65 nP.

This is the first, and a useful, compilation describing the present arrangements for training of officers and staff, *at all levels*, in different departments of a State Government—the Bombay State. The departments covered are grouped under six categories, namely, (1) General Administration—Revenue Department (I.A.S. Probationers, Assistant Collectors, and Assistant Commissioners and Extra-Assistant Commissioners, Mamlatdars, Probationary Mamlatdars, Naib-Tahsildars, Circle Officers and Inspectors, Talatis-cum-Village Panchayat Secretaries); Agriculture and Forest Department (Assistant Collectors and Deputy Collectors); and Political and Services Department; (2) Law and Order (Police Department, Jail Department and Home Guards Organisation); (3) Rural Development—Agriculture and Forest Department, Co-operative Department and

Department of Cottage Industries and Industrial Co-operatives; (4) Social Services—Education Department, Department of Technical Education and Local Self-Government; (5) Public Works—Public Works Department; and (6) Miscellaneous—Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Finance Department, Department of Printing and Stationery, Excise Department, Survey and Land Records Office and Registration Department.

The monograph, besides being a convenient source of information, is intended to provide the basic material necessary for a critical examination of the scope and adequacy of the training facilities in the light of the growing requirements of administration of the State.

*ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT—Conference Report*, London, Royal Institute of Public Administration, Haldane House, 107p., 10s. 6d.

The volume contains the report of the Conference on Administrative Organization for Economic Development, which was organised by the Royal Institute of Public Administration, England, at Cambridge, from 13th to 24th July, 1959. There are in all included an introductory paper on *The Objects and Implications of Economic Development* by Michael Ionides, the reports of the 5 Study Groups set up by and the text of two lectures delivered at the Conference. In the introductory paper, Mr. Ionides discusses ways and methods, which have "chain reaction", to stimulate people in the countryside automatically to new and productive activities. Considering that modern business techniques for the design construction, operation and management of a large industrial installation cannot profitably be

applied to local projects which are too small, he recommends the establishment of an agency which will "lend itself to systematic survey, experiment and designs to produce more or less standardized types of industrial products which are best made in a multiplicity of small units spread over the countryside and are universally needed". The community development idea is in danger of getting lost in its own philosophy; unless the State organizes itself to follow up all the activities the movement for self-help is starting, it will lose its impetus in disillusion.

Three of the five reports of the Study Groups relate to "Development Programmes, including External Assistance", "The Roles of Public Corporations, Private Enterprise and Co-operatives", and "The Encouragement of Individual Participation in Economic Development". The other two reports deal with "Central Government Organization for Economic Planning and Development" and "Staffing the Organizations concerned with Economic Development". The first of the latter two reports contains a concise and interesting discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages of locating the central planning authority in the Ministry of Finance, in the Prime Minister's Office, or as a separate Ministry. Relationship between the central planning unit and executive ministries during the formulation and execution of plans, as also the special problems of federal states, are examined. The report places the main responsibility for estimating resources and formulating projects, supervising the progress and evaluating results on executive ministries; the central planning unit should be concerned with the overall formulation and evaluation of the plan and provide executive ministries with trained personnel to assist in the detailed working out and



appraisal of projects and schemes; it may also train and maintain a field survey team for use by the ministries, if required.

The unit should be headed either by a professional economist or by a generalist administrator who has had economic training and experience. Most of the supporting staff of the unit will be economists and statisticians, but some administrative officers will also be required; these must be men of high calibre, with varying backgrounds and experience, and capable of taking broad views. The unit should rely on the appropriate departments of the Government for advice on technical questions, its main functions being planning and co-ordination. Whilst staff should remain on economic planning duties long enough to render a period of expert service in the planning processes, it may well be undesirable for them to remain so permanently, and there should be periodic rotation of staff between the planning unit and the executive ministries and departments. The training received by the general administrative officers in the field as district officers in enforcement of law and magistracy has not always been suitable for the kind of tasks that now have to be performed in executive ministries. Government departments should employ administrative staff with social science training to work out the long-term social consequences of each project in the same way as its financial implications are assessed, so that new plans take full account of the people's likely reactions to them. A strong and effective public service commission or centrally located establishment office should report to the Government at regular intervals on the state of the civil service, and should make recommendations if it seems that policies are in need of review. Contributions to in-service training made by senior members of the staff

should be recognized as an important part of their duties.

The two lectures included in the report are: "The Assessment and Collection of Taxes" by Mr. S.H. Hildersley and "Government Organization for Research" by Dr. E.B. Worthington". Mr. Hildersley, describing the British tax administration, emphasises its characteristics of central control and local responsibilities, high professional conduct and competence of officials, the willingness of the British taxpayer to observe the tax laws and also his great readiness to criticise them, the utilisation of the services of the accountants, both qualified and unqualified, and the independence of the local officer. The British income-tax inspector, like most of his countrymen, is far more deadly when his courtesy is exquisite. Dr. Worthington points out that attributes required of the men on fundamental research are clearly quite different from those of the officers in charge of field and demonstration centres, and different again from those of the extension workers. He further brings out the role of independent research councils as a midway between the tight system of departmental research and loose system of university research.

*SMALL INDUSTRY ADVISORY SERVICES—An International Study;* By JOSEPH E. STEPANEK, Illinois, Stanford Research Institute, 1960, xiii, 193p., \$6.00.

This is an international study, in the nature of a general survey, by Joseph E. Stepanek, Senior Industries Specialist of the International Industrial Development Centre, Stanford Research Institute, Stanford University. It examines and evaluates processes and institutions by which industrial knowledge is being collected, adapted, and transmitted to small entrepreneurs, in about some



twenty countries in Asia, Europe, Latin America, Canada and United States. The Study is intended for the particular use of counselling officers in private or government agencies who are charged with stimulating and implementing the growth of industry; it may also be of interest to policy-makers, administrators, and students of industrial development. The author examines the subject-matter and areas of advisory assistance to small industry; the different approaches and extension methods; the organisational set-up of advisory services under old and new government agencies, under private auspices and under joint government-private auspices; the problem of administering small industry institutes; selection and training of industrial advisors and councils for rural development and techniques of evaluating advisory assistance. The appendix summarizes the experience of selected advisory service organisations in Asia (India and Japan), Europe, Latin America, Canada, and the United States. The note on India (pp. 131 to 144) makes an interesting and useful reading.

*THE BOSS*; By ROY LEWIS AND ROSEMARY STEWART, London, Phoenix House, 1958, 249p., 21s.

This is a stimulating study of the role of business men in the contemporary economic situation in Great Britain, the sources of their recruitment, the road to promotion and climbing up to and the life at the top. We learn that in the U.K. an industrial or business career now stands high in middle-class favour. Many companies, large as well as small, are altogether unconvinced by the ballyhoo about graduates. Merit is usually an essential condition of success but it is not the only one. "A man's work must not only be distinctly good; but he must also be

heard about by his seniors". "...in addition to merit, promotion in business depends on three p's—personality, pull and push—and on chance". In business it is important to have the right friends. The use and handling of superiors is, of course, as important as using and handling colleagues and subordinates. While some bosses only value 'yes-men', others appreciate those who stand up to them. The men who were most likely to succeed were those with family connections in business (although this is less important in the larger firms) and those who have been to public school. Contrary to common belief, civil servants from the higher grades often make good directors of large firms. Success in business is primarily a matter of getting on, making money and, in a large company, being promoted rather than doing good work for its own sake and irrespective of who gets the credit. It is difficult to lay down what characteristics make for success in business; all depends upon the stage of development of the concern, the nature of the market and the other circumstances of the particular enterprise. Two qualities, however, stand out as being the most important for success: optimism and self-confidence; emotional maturity is also necessary. The aspiring business man in a big business bureaucracy cannot afford to get stuck too long in one job; three to five years is the longest that can safely be spent in any one post, and the lower the rung the shorter should be the time one is poised on it.

Business men are said to be less interesting than civil servants; even less heroic. The pleasure of top business is very much the pleasure of a game, which also contributes to the good of the community. Business is its own reward apart from any other advantages it confers. A large portion of British business men take



a masochistic joy in being overworked. "...to the American business man, business is a way of life"; the British business man or manager still tends to think of himself as a private citizen who happens to work for XYZ company. Sixty or seventy years ago American business methods were considered neither efficient nor worthy of emulation. The modern idea of management, management education, philosophy of management, and industrial consultancy have since all come from the U.S.A. Adaptability, mobility and sociability are three of the most important factors for success when the game is played the American way of business. The American business man must appear both friendly and accessible. An increasing number of American companies pay considerable attention to their executives' wives. In British industry, the psychologist is only on the periphery, if he is present at all; in American business the psychologist may be found at the very centre acting as 'father confessor' and guide to top management.

In British business the opportunities to get really rich have become narrow, although the average top executive is the best-paid man in the country, outside the top rank of entertainers. The salaried professional, whether in the civil services, local government service, education or in business, cannot now expect very greatly to increase his standard of living, however well he does. In business, the greater part of the advantage comes from the expenses which the business man draws through the firm. A large or medium size firm can supply its senior executives with a large car, some firms supply even a house or flat; and there are holidays, taken in the guise of business trips abroad or tacked on to *bona fide* trips. The personal benefits of secretarial assistance are also substantial.

The main worry of the top executive manager has ceased for some years to be either production or profits or even selling: it is now the people and their growing cussedness. The constant effort to bridge the gap between management and workers must go on.

Finally, the author raises the problem of what combination of incentives, privileges and discipline will induce the business man to serve the nation to the required extent. He also emphasises that the danger today is that managers and directors are afraid to be boss; if they had more self-confidence they would not be scared to know what their workpeople think. In their present unhappy midway position they can no longer exercise autocracy successfully but lack the genius to exercise democratic bossmanship.

*INDIA MIXED ENTERPRISE AND WESTERN BUSINESS*; DANIEL L. SPENCER, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1959, xi, 252p., Rs. 26.00.

The study seeks to examine India's experiments in mixed enterprise to assess the advantages which mixed enterprise affords in the economic development of the country. The book is divided into three parts. Part I deals with the historical development of the public and private enterprises in India; Part II sets forth the conceptional framework, the classification scheme and the position of 'mixed', 'composite' and 'joint' enterprises in India during recent years. In the third part the author examines the economic rationale of mixed enterprise in the light of its theory and the Indian experience in the field, the advantages of mixed enterprise to the public and private sectors, its role in mobilising capital, both foreign and domestic and its relationship with foreign investment.



The author finds that where ownership carries no voting rights as in British public utility trusts and a board of directors is appointed entirely by the public authority, the net result is virtually the same as a purely government-owned and -directed corporation. Conversely, a corporation to which a government has made majority stock subscriptions, but takes no share or very little share in the direction of the company, approaches a purely privately-owned and -managed company. Considering the extent of control or ownership and their different mixtures as the bases of definition, the author defines "mixed and composite" enterprise as inter-sector combination between public and private sectors, involving participation in the capital structure and/or direction of the company. Again, "mixed and composite" enterprise may be of two types : (a) 'mixed enterprise' involving inter-sector combination of two or more components exclusively consisting of *domestic* elements, and (b) 'composite enterprise' consisting of inter-sector combination of two or more components at least one of which is *foreign*. "Joint enterprise", which should be differentiated from "mixed and composite" enterprise, is defined as inter-sector combination within the public sector or the private sector; this combination may involve foreign and domestic interests, but must be in only one sector.

Mr. Spencer points out that much of the scepticism about the future of private enterprises in India is really a problem of semantics. Though the term "socialistic pattern of society" has very negative connotations for Americans, the vast majority of leaders associated with the dominant party in India visualize a present and future mixed economy not too

different from that reached by the United States through a very different road. The difference between India and America is one of emphasis only, due to differing cultural backgrounds. In the United States, the private sector plays the lead while its role is reversed in India. Private enterprise in India is gradually awakening to its social responsibilities. The past experience with foreign private enterprise during the British rule was not encouraging; nor has India's domestic private enterprise much to recommend. To the author "private enterprise in India connotes a petty commercial capitalism of the haughty landowner, the heartless speculator in grains of the recent inflationary period".

The author considers that India's experiments with mixed forms are especially important, as these are developing in a great tradition of Eastern dualism, where the keynote is co-operation and not domination. Public and private sectors are conceived as equals and mixtures are elevated, at least in theory, to something more than a variant of pure Government corporations, the treatment hitherto accorded them in Western thought. In practice, however, the Central Government's enterprises are heavily weighted in favour of the Government. At the State level, the private interests tend to have a larger share, but Mysore, the most important case, appears to have exercised a strong hold over its interests in mixed enterprise. In the international field, with important exceptions, there are two patterns: either the foreign complex is substantially dominant or it takes a minimal share allied to technical assistance. These extremes are still far from the partnership idea of a relaxation of equals.